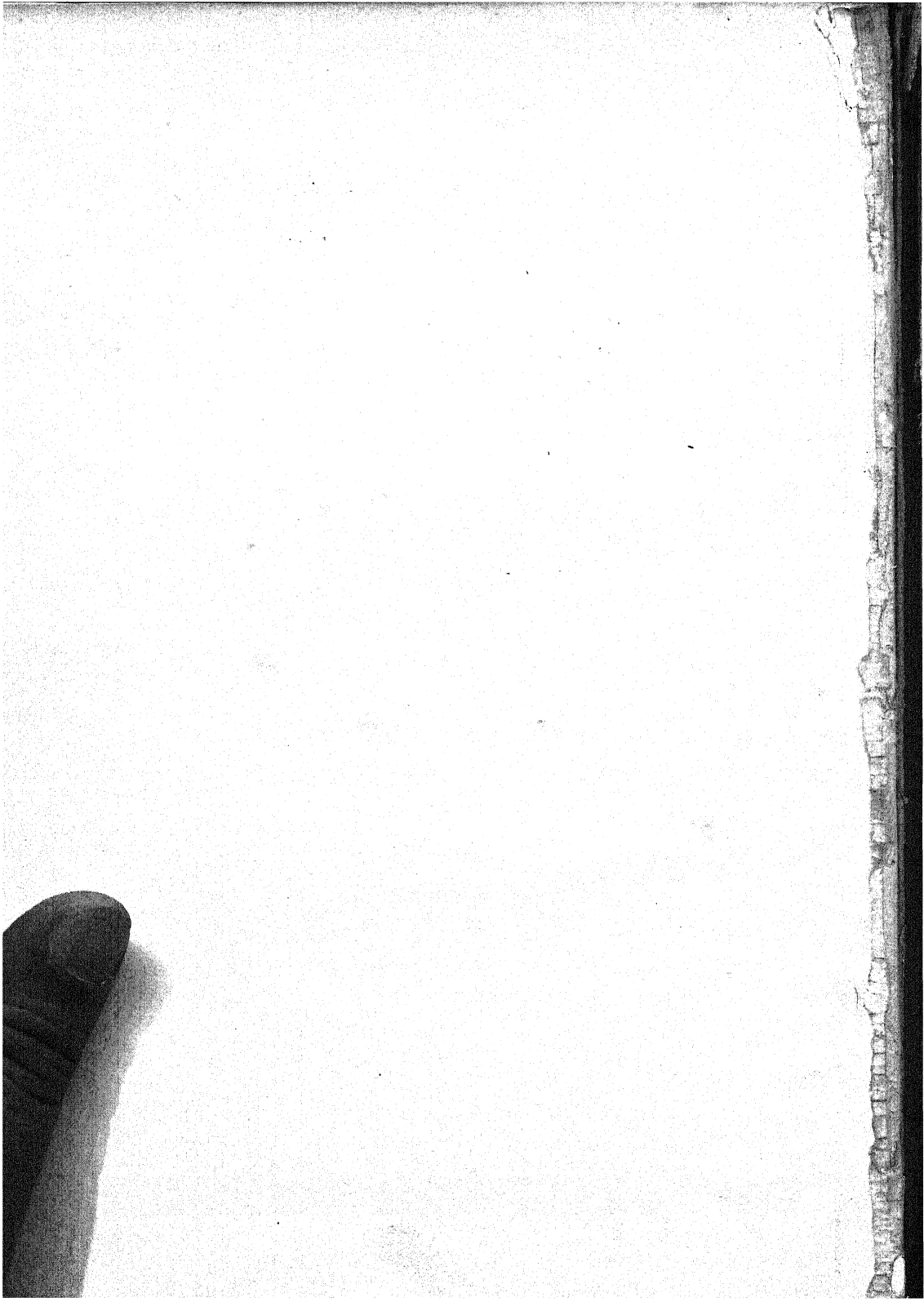


JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

VOL. LVIII.

PART I. (HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, &C.)

(NOS. I TO III.—1889: with 10 plates; also a Supplement with 2 plates.)

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THE HONORARY PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY,

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"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease." SIR WM. JONES.

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J.A.S.B.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1889.

Coins of the Muhammadan Kings of Gujarát.—*By* E. E. Oliver, Esq.

(With 3 Plates.)

Looking over a large number of coins belonging to Mr. Furdoonjee, an enthusiastic numismatist of Bombay—in which Presidency he had exceptional opportunities for collecting the coins of the old Muhammadan dynasty of Gujarát—I find a good number that do not appear in the British Museum Catalogue, nor in the list given by Thomas, and that, so far as I am aware, have not yet been described. Supplemented with some from my own cabinet, I have filled two or three plates, which may be interesting in continuation of those described by Mr. Poole from the National Collection.

It is unnecessary to attempt any sketch of the dynasty, that for over a century and a half, ruled the destinies of Gujarát. One of the principal of those Muhammadan States that sprung from the ruins of Muḥammad ibn Tughlaq's declining empire; and maintained more or less of splendour and of power, till they were once again reduced to provinces of Dehlí by Akbar. A useful general outline of the leading events is given in Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's introduction to the volume in the British Museum series above referred to, treating of the minor Muhammadan States; and the late Sir Edward Clive Bayley in his volume on the history of Gujarát, has brought together the more inter-

esting particulars as told by the native historians in the *Mirát-i-Aḥmadí* and the *Mirát-i-Sikandarí*.

In both, however, there is a little blank between the assassination of Maḥmúd III., and the final incorporation of the State into the Mughal Empire. This is a period regarding which most historians are silent; probably for the very excellent reasons, that there are no very accurate materials, and the accounts of native writers are somewhat conflicting, while it is perfectly accurate and more easy to sum up the whole, as being "thirty years of anarchy."

Briefly, the outline of those thirty years of anarchy is somewhat as follows: Maḥmúd III was murdered by a slave named Burhán in Maḥmúdábád, on the 12th Rabí'u-l-awwal, 961 H. (the eve of the 13th according to the Mirát-i-Sikandarí), which slave in addition entrapped and killed some twelve of the chief Gujarát nobles. Among those sagacious enough not to fall into Burhán's trap was one I'timád Khán. Originally a Hindú servant, this I'timád, whose name may be taken to signify "trusted," had risen under Maḥmúd to a most confidential position. His master even allowed him to enter the harem, and had put him in charge of the women. He had been made an Amír, and is spoken of as "prime minister." The morning after the murder, I'timád collected a few followers, killed Burhán, managed to pacify the city and restore order. It was to him that the court of Maḥmúdábád instinctively looked, to act as regent and to set about finding a successor to the throne. There seems little doubt, however, that whoever might be the nominal successor, I'timád determined to retain the substance of power in his own hands; and for the whole thirty years he was really the "king-maker" in the back-ground.

The accounts as to the actual arrangements made by him vary somewhat. According to the Áin-i-Akbarí, he raised Raẓíu-l-Mulk, "a son of Sulṭán Aḥmad, the founder of Aḥmadábád," to the throne. But Sulṭán Aḥmad the first died in 846 H., 115 years before; and Raẓí is spoken of as "very young!" The more probable version is given in the *Mirát-i-Sikandarí*, the author of which, Sikandarí ibn Muḥammad, was born in 961 H.; and relates that the nobles having concerted together, asked I'timád Khán, who was acquainted with the Sulṭán's domestic affairs, whether the Sulṭán had left any son, or if any of the Sulṭán's wives were expecting a child: if so, they would wait till the child's birth before deciding on any arrangements regarding the kingdom. I'timád said no; the Sulṭán had not left any son, nor were any of his wives expecting a child. As he was well acquainted with the Sulṭán's affairs, and denied the possibility of any direct heir, they then asked him if there was any relative of the late Sulṭán who was fit to

succeed to the throne, whom they might select. I'timád Khán replied that there was a relative of the Sulṭán at Aḥmadábád, whose name was Aḥmad Khán; they might send for him. Accordingly they sent Amír Raẓíu-l-mulk to fetch the boy. When Raẓí came to Aḥmad Khán's house, the boy was standing at a grain-dealer's shop close by his own door, and was bringing away in the skirt of his dress some grain which he had bought for his pigeons. Raẓíu-l-mulk recognised him, got out of the cart, carried him off, and placing him in it, turned it round, and drove off, with very fast horses, to Maḥmúdábád. The Khán's nurse wept, and made a disturbance, saying: "What is this? Where are you going to take him?" Raẓíu-l-Mulk called out: "I am going to take him to a place where all the world will to-morrow crowd round his house, and where he will not find one friend."

The Amír's prophecy proved true. The boy king's career was a short and a sad one. He was placed on the throne on the 15th Rabí'u-l-awwal 961 H. as Aḥmad II.; the affairs of state meanwhile remaining entirely in I'timád's hands. On the coins he calls himself "Quṭbu-d-dín, the son of Maḥmúd," titles also adopted by the succeeding puppet. Five years later Aḥmad is described as flying from his capital for refuge with one of his courtiers, but as brought back defeated. On another occasion he tried other means to get rid of his powerful minister, when the latter, beginning to feel insecure, decided to get rid of the king. One account says I'timád killed him, another that Aḥmad was found murdered outside the Palace walls on the 5th Sha'bán 968 H.

Having got rid of Aḥmad, I'timád now raised a child named Nathú to the throne, "who did not belong to the line of kings," but who he swore was a son of Maḥmúd's. The mother, when pregnant, had been handed over to him to make her miscarry, but, the child being five months old, he had not carried out the order. The nobles had to swallow this new variety of the story, and Nathú was placed on the throne as Muẓaffar III.

It was the old story of a nominal king under a powerful minister, who was the real head of the Government, and who, though several of the Amírs had secured portions of the country and declined to recognise his authority, had become practically independent. In the account of the divisions and revenues of Gujarát, given in the *Mirát-i-Aḥmadí*, I'timád's establishment and income is shown in 979 H. as all but equal to the nominal kings; he having 9,000 horse and 30 *kroṛs* of "*tankchahs*," against Muẓaffar's 10,000 horse and 33 *kroṛs* of *tankchahs*; the remainder of a total of 30,000 horse and 90 *kroṛs* of *tankchahs*, being divided amongst some half dozen nobles. The result was incessant feuds. In 980 Akbar was invited by I'timád to occupy Gujarát, and

took possession of the capital on the 14th Rajab of that year. From then both the minister and king figure frequently in the accounts of campaigns under both Akbar and his generals. I'timád and other Gujarát nobles proclaimed Akbar's accession from the pulpits of the mosques, and struck coin in his name, for which loyalty Baroda, Champánír, and Súrat, were given to the former as *tuyúl*, but subsequently he fell into disgrace and was made a prisoner. In 982 H. he had been released and was in charge of the imperial jewels. Two years after he went to Makkah, and on his return obtained Patan as a *jágír*. In 990 H. he was put in charge of Gujarát as governor, in succession to Shihábu-d-dín, but the latter's forces rebelled, and went over to Muẓaffar, who in I'timád's absence took Aḥmadábád, and set up as ruler again in 991 H. Shortly after I'timád went to Patan, where he died in 995 H.

Muẓaffar abdicated in favour of Akbar in 980 H., when he was in the first instance sent to Ágrá, but subsequently remanded to close confinement. Some nine years after he escaped, and returning to Gujarát, collected a respectable force, defeated and slew Akbar's general Quṭbu-d-dín Khán, and reascended the throne 991 H. (1583 A. D.). Akbar then deputed Mírzá Khán Khánán, the son of Bairám, to retake Gujarát. Muẓaffar was defeated the same year in a couple of pitched battles, and fled to Júnágaṛh in Kattywár. There he was pursued by another of Akbar's generals Mírzá Khán-i-'A'ẓam, who hunted him down and captured him in Kachh in 999 H. No sooner was Muẓaffar handed over to the Mírzá than he asked permission to retire for a minute, and took the opportunity to cut his throat with a razor. With him terminated the dynasty of the Muhammadan kings of Gujarát, the kingdom then becoming a province of Dehlí. The coin No. XXXI is especially interesting as having been struck during the year in which, for a brief period, Muẓaffar managed to re-establish himself in Gujarát.

In the British Museum Catalogue there is a coin of 963, ascribed to Muḥammad, a pretender, and No. XXVIII of the series now published would seem to have somewhat similar titles and dates and also claim to be struck by a son of Maḥmúd, *viz.* on the Rev. *Quṭbu-d-dín Muḥammad Sháh, (bin) as-Sulṭán x* 63, and on the Obv. *Náṣiru-d-dunyá-wa-d-dín Abu-l-Fatḥ Maḥmúd Sháh.* On the other hand it is very similar in character to No. IX of Maḥmúd Sháh I., the son of Muḥammad, and the reading might be reversed, x being 8 instead of 9, but Muḥammad I. called himself *Ghyáṣu-d-dín* and not *Quṭbu-d-dín* I have not been able to trace any historical reference to the so-called "Pretender."

In order to facilitate comparison of dates, descent, or contemporary rulers, I add a genealogical tree of the Gujarát kings, and a table shewing the contemporary rules in Málwá, Jaunpur, Kandaish, the Dekkan

and Dehlí, taken from Poole's very handy graphic scheme of the Muhammadan dynasties of India.

(See Plates I—III.)

Of Aḥmad Sháh 1. I noticed in Mr. Furdoonjee's collection similar coins to the British Museum No. 408, but with the mint Aḥmadábád for the years 832, 6, 842, 3*, and similar to No. 411 also with mint Aḥmadábád, years 830-1-7. Of Ghiyáṣu-d-dín Muḥammad Karím Sháh the Museum list gives no dated specimens. Thomas records 849, 850 and (?) 856. The three now figured read 852, 3 and 5, the last named having the same inscription as in Thomas. The Museum catalogues no silver representative of Maḥmúd Sháh *Bígará*, the famous Sulṭán of the moustachios. Thomas refers to three, of 891, 903 and 911. Neither give any mints: in fact, with one doubtful exception, none of the Gujarát series in the Museum catalogue are minted. In the list now given are silver coins of 864-7 (8)70, 909; Aḥmadábád, 900, 903, and 911. In some cases the date is in words. The Museum list has two gold coins of Muẓaffar Sháh II. Thomas's copper coins are dated 922-3-4 and 8. The one now figured is dated 929. Two others have no name but may perhaps be put down to him (?), Aḥmadnagar (9)17 and 922.

The inscription on No. XVIII of Bahádur Sháh appears to agree with No. 427 of the Museum, but I note the years 938 and 939. Maḥmúd Sháh III. bin Laṭíf is unrepresented in the Museum catalogue. Thomas gives the years 946, 7 and 9. Among these now figured are the years 945,7 and 960. The suppositious king Aḥmad II. is represented in the Museum catalogue by one copper coin; Thomas gives the dates 961—8. In the present list are the dates 961, in silver, x x 2, 963 and 8. Muẓaffar Sháh III. in the Museum and in Thomas is represented by the dates 969, 971-7-8-9 and 930. The present list adds 991.

It is also worth while adding that among Mr. Furdoonjee's dated Bahmaní coins, I notice, Aḥmad Sháh I. like the Museum No. 454, the years, 836 and 828. Like the Museum No. 461, the years 843-5-6, 850-2-6. Like No. 467, the years 839, 842-3 and 850. Muḥammad Sháh II. like No. 474, the years 863, 877 and 875, and a fine silver coin of (?) Aḥsanábád of x 77 figured in the present list as No. XXXIV. A coin of his, figured as No. XXXV, also appears a novelty.

* The above dates are all A. H.

Genealogical tree of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujarát.

1. Ẓafar Khán. Appointed Governor from Dehlí 791. Assumed independence at Anhalwárá 799 as Muẓaffar Sháh I. Died 814.

Tátár Khán.

Tátár Khán.

2. Aḥmad I. Náṣiru-d-dín, 814 to 846. Founded Aḥmadábád and extended his dominions considerably.

3. Muḥammad, I. Ghiyáṣu-d-dín, Karím Sháh, 846 to 855. Given up to pleasure and ease.

5. Dáúd, reigned 7 days in 863.

4. Quṭbu-d-dín, Aḥmad Sháh, 855 to 863.

6. Maḥmúd I., Bígará, 863 to 917. The most famous of the line, founded Maḥmudábád, took Júnágaṛh and Champánír.

7. Muẓaffar II., 917 to 932.

8. Sikandar, 932, murdered after a reign of 46 days.

9. Maḥmúd II., 932, a child called Náṣir Khán.

10. Bahádur, 932 to 943. daughter 'Adil Laṭíf Khán married to Khán of Kandaish.

11. Mirán Muḥammad Fárúqí originally called Asirí, 943.

12. Maḥmúd III., 944 to 961.

13. Aḥmad Sháh II., 961 to 968.

14. Muẓaffar Sháh III., 969 to 980, when Gujarát submitted to Akbar, but Muẓaffar ruled for a short time again in 991.*

Contemporary Rulers in

A. H.	Gujarát.	Málwá.	Jaunpur.	Kandaish.	Dekkan.	Dehlí.
795						Maḥmúd II.
796			Khwájah i Jahán.			
797						Naṣrat.
799	Muẓaffar I.				Ghiváṣu-d-dín.	

* The above dates are all A. H.

A. H.	Gujarát.	Málwa.	Jauupur.	Kandaish.	Dekkan.	Dehlí.
799					Shamsu-d-dín.	
800					Táju-d-dín Fírúz.	
802			Mubárak.	Náṣir.		Maḥmúd II.
803			Ibráhím.			
804		Diláwar				
808		Hushang.				
814	Aḥmad I.					
815						Daulat Khán Lodí.
817						Khizr Khán.
824						Mubárak II.
825					Aḥmad I.	
837						Muḥammad IV.
838		Muḥammad.			Aḥmad II.	
839		Maḥmúd I.				
841				'Ádil.		
844			Maḥmúd.			
845				Mubárak I.		
846	Mḥd. Karím.					
847						'Álím.
855	Quṭbu-d-dín.					Bahlol Lodí.
861			Muḥammad.	Ghaní.		
862					Humáyún.	
863	Dáúd.			Husain.		
863	Maḥmúd I.					
865					Niẓám.	
867					Múḥammad II.	
880		Ghiyás Sháh.				
881			Becomes part of Dehlí.			
887					Maḥmúd II.	
894					Becomes split up into small provinces.	Sikandar II.
906		Náṣir Sháh.				
909				Dáúd.		
916		Maḥmúd II.		A'ẓam Humáyún.		
917	Muẓaffar II.					
923						Ibráhim II.
926				Muḥammad I.		
930						Bábar.
932	Sikandar.					
932	Maḥmúd II.					
932	Bahádur.					
937		Becomes part of Gujarát.				
938						Humáyún.
942				Mubárak II.		

A. H.	Gujárat.	Málwa.	Jaunpur.	Kandaish.	Dekkan.	Dehlí.
943	Muḥammad Fárúqí.					
944	Maḥmúd III.					
946						Sher Sháh.
952						Islám Sháh.
960						'Ádil Sháh.
961	Aḥmad II.					Ibráhím Súr.
962						Humáyún.
963						Akbar.
969	Muẓaffar III.					
974				Muḥammad II.		
980	Becomes a province of Dehlí.					

Ghiáṣu-d-dín Muḥammad Karím Sháh.

I. Æ ·65 64 grains. No mint. 855 H.

... محمد شاه || السّلطان || ٨٥٥ غياث الدنيا || و الدين

Compare Thomas, page 353.

II. Æ ·70 140 grains. 8 (5) 2 H.

...ابو المحامد ||محمد شاه || السطان ... سلطان الاعظم || غياث الدنيا || والدين

٨ [٥] ٢

III. Æ ·65 72 grains. 853 H.

سلطان || محمد ٣ شاه || ٨٥ غياث الدنيا || والدين

Maḥmúd Sháh I.

IV. Æ ·80 165 grains: (?) Aḥmadábád. 911 H.

In square محمود || شاه شاه || السلطان ابن محمد

margin .. ذيدعمر .. || .. ح .. ب .. || ٩١١ || ||

السلطان || الاعظم || ابوالفتح || ناصر الدنيا والدين

V. Æ ·65 88 grains.

The same as No. IV, but without margin.

VI. Æ ·70 87 grains. Aḥmadábád. 900 H.

Obv. same as No. IV. In lozenge محمود شاه || السلطان

margin .. ضرب حمد اباد

[عروجاودانه] سنه ٩٠٠

VII. Æ ·70 85 grains. Aḥmadábád. 903 H.
Obv. same as No. IV. In lozenge السلطان ‖ محمود شاه
margin [مر . . مر] ضرب
حمد اباد [عروحاندانه] ۹۰۳

VIII. Æ ·70 88 grains. 909 H.
Obv. as No. IV, with 909 H. Rev., variety of No. IV.

Ditto. Æ ·50 42 grains. No date or mint Mr. Furdoonjee.

IX. Æ ·70 146 grains. No mint. [8]64, [8]67 H. Ditto.
ناصرالدنيا ‖ والدين ابو ‖ الفتح محمود شاه ‖ بن محمد شاه ‖
السلطان ٦٤ [٨]

X. Æ ·70 173 grains. No mint. (8)70 H. Ditto.
Obv. as No. IX. In circle السلطان ‖ محمود شاه
margin سبعين و ثما نما

XI. Æ ·85 250 grains. Ditto.
..توكل على ‖ المنان محمود شاه بن محمد شاه
‖ - بو ل ... ا .. ى ‖ ا سلطان

XII. Æ ·85 245 grains.
.. لمؤيد بنصرا [الله] المـ ... كليم الله ‖ ..لسلطان ‖ محمود سـ..
‖ .. بولغا ... ى

XIII. Æ ·75 160 grains.
.لمتو... ‖ ... الله القو... ‖ الغني محمود شـ .. ‖ بن محمد شـ ..
‖ [سلطان] ...

XIV. Æ ·65 140 grains.
.. لسلطان الاعظ . ‖ ناصر الدنيا .بوالفتح ‖ محمود شاه ‖ [السلطان]
‖ [والدين]

Muẓaffar Sháh II.

XV. Æ ·70 169 grains. 929 H. Mr. Furdoonjee
شه ... لدنيا و... ‖ ۹۲۹ ‖ ابوالنصـ... السلطان ‖ محمود شاه ‖ بن
مظفر شاه

*XVI. Æ ·75 160 grains. 922 H.
في شهور ‖ ۹۲۲ ‖ سنه .. شهو ‖

* Doubtful coins.

*XVII. Æ ·65 143 grains, (?) Aḥmadnagar (9)17 H.

.. مرتضى || احمد [نلر] في‌شهور || سنه || ١٧ [٩]

Bahádur Sháh.

XVIII. Æ ·75 175 grains. 939 H.

.. ص... لدنيا ... لد .. ين || ٩٣٩ || السلطان || مظفر شاه || بن || بهادر شاه

|| ا . ظ .. ف ..

Compare No. 427, British Museum Catalogue.

Maḥmúd Sháh III.

XIX. Æ ·80 180 grains. Mr. Furdoonjee.

.. ـه .. || .. [الله] الواثق با [السلطان] شاه شا .. || [محمود]

|| ا ... ا ... औराज || لطيف ..

XX. Æ ·70 142 grains. Ditto.

... صر الدنيا || والدين ابو محمود بن || لطيف شاه || السلطان

XXI. Æ ·80 159 grains. 945 H. Ditto.

.... قطب‌الدنيا والدين || ابوالفضل السطان || شاه شاه || محمود [شاه] بن لطيف

٩٤٥

XXII. Æ ·70 137 grains. 960 H. Ditto.

.. -و .. ثق .. لمد ... || .. اسف لسلطان || شاه شاه || محمود بن لطيف ٩٦٥

|| لدنيا و الدين ابو

XXIII. Æ ·55 69 grains.

الواثق بالله المنان || .. مس السلطان || شاه‌شاه || محمود بن لطيف

ا ا .. ا

XXIV. Æ ·55 71 grains. 957 H.

... صر . لدنيا || ٩٥٧ || ... لدين شاه || محمود

Aḥmad Sháh II.

XXV. Æ ·85 164 grains. 961 H.

الرحمن بالله || ابوالمحامد المعتصم In double lozenge السلطان || شاه شاه || عهد

|| الدنيا و الدين || غياث احمد بن محمود || ٩٦١

* Doubtful coins.

XXVI. Æ ·55 73 grains.
... مـ عصـ ... || .. نيا
و الدين ابو...

968 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.
...سلطان || شاه سـ ... || .. حمـ ..
بن محمـ ...

XXVII. Æ ·70 140 grains.
الخليفه || امير المومنين || ...
خلاف .. ٢

**2. *63. Ditto.
قطب الد... || و الدين احمد ه
|| .. سلطان

Muḥammad Sháh (?)Pretender.

XXVIII. Æ ·70 144 grains.
ناصر الدنيا و || - لدين ابو الفتح
|| محـ .. ود ... اه

*63. Ditto.
[... ان] قطب ... || بن محمد شاه ||
السلطان ٦٣

Compare copper coins 437—9 in B. M. Catalogue.

Muẓaffar Sháh III.

XXIX. Æ ·60 73 grains.
المؤيد بتا... الرحمـ ... || شمـ ... الد ...

978
ال ... لطان || ٩٧٨ شاه || شاه مظفر ||
श्रीराज

XXX. Æ ·70 73 grains.
Obv. Inscription as No. XXIX.

97*.
... سطان || مظفر شاه ||
महाराज

Æ ·50 36 grains. Ditto. Mr. Furdoonjee.

XXXI. Æ ·85 175 grains.
In square لا اله الا الله || محمد
|| رسول الله
margin ... عا .. ابو ... || ||
.. ساعـ ... || لعلا ... علي

991 H. Ditto.
In square ابن محمود شاه || مظفر
شاه || ٩٩١ سلطان
margin الرحمـ || ||
...الد .. مظ ...

977 H.
مظفرشاه || ٩٧٧

XXXII. Æ ·75 179 grains.
شمس الدنيا || و الدين

Muḥammad Sháh II., Bahmaní. [doonjee.

XXXIII. Æ ·95 166 grains.
المعتصـ ... [بالله] || ...
والمظفر شمس ... || والدين

(?)Aḥsanábád. x77. Mr. Fur-
In square ...محمد شـ ... || همايونش
... || السلطان خلـ .. خلـ ...
margin [اح ... ١١] || ... ٧٧ ...

Maḥmúd Sháh II., Bahmaní.

XXXIV. Æ ·70 146 grains.

المريد ‖ بنصر ‖ محمو... ‖ ۰ ‖ بهمنی

*Ruins and Antiquities of Rámpál.**—*By* Asutosh Gupta, Esq., C. S.

Unlike Upper India, studded with monuments of ancient history, the Delta of the Ganges presents few places of interest to the antiquarian. Lower Bengal is generally as devoid of picturesque scenery as of objects of antiquarian interest. We have all heard of Saptagráma and Suvarṇakáragráma and their once flourishing commerce with the West, but what remains to show their ancient greatness? No Colossus, no Forum, not even a Hindú temple. Still there are a few places here and there, such as Gauṛ and Nadiyá, which cannot fail to be of interest to the diligent antiquarian or the student of history, and Rámpál is one of them. It is not so widely known as it deserves to be. It is now a straggling hamlet, situated approximately in Lat. 23° 38′ and Long. 90° 32′ 10″, being about four miles to the west of Munshíganj, the head-quarters of the subdivision of that name in the district of Dacca (Ḍháká), corresponding with the old fiscal division of Vikrámpur. It was the seat of the old Sen kings of Bengal, and notably of Ballál Sen, whose name has been handed down to posterity as the founder of Kulinism in Bengal.

Such is the case with Rámpál and the dynasty that reigned here. The ruins, as the sequel will show, are not so important and interesting as in Gauṛ and a few other places in Bengal. But there is abundant evidence to show that Rámpál was once a royal city. The large Rámpál Dighí or the artificial lake of Rámpál, the huge mound, to which tradition points as the Báṛí or the palace of Ballál Sen, the very broad roads and the existence of innumerable bricks which can be found buried under the earth wherever you dig in Rámpál and its environs, are unmistakeable indications of a ruined city of palaces. Old bricks of small size were found in such abundance in and around Rámpál, that they were carried in vast quantities to Dacca for build-

* [Compare with this paper General Sir A. Cunningham's account of the same sites and legends, in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XV, pp. 132—135. The two accounts differ in some minor details. Ed.]

ing purposes. Such is still the case with Gauṛ. Many stone idols of Hindú gods and goddesses have been found buried under the earth. There is a huge stone idol of Vishṇu near the temple of Siva in Aṭpará, about a mile west of Rámpál, and I have seen many smaller idols collected by a Vaishṇava in 'Abdulláhpur.

Rámpál appears to have been the only seat of the Sen kings up to the death of Ballál Sen, but the later kings of the dynasty lived at Suvarṇakáragráma, Gauṛ and Nadiyá. Suvarṇakáragráma, locally called Shonárgáon, is also in the district of Dacca, being about four miles from the existing Bandar of Baidya Bazar on the river Meghná. Lachhman Sen, son of Ballál Sen, generally lived at Gauṛ, which, according to the Muhammadan historians, he greatly embellished, and called after his name Lakhnautí or Lakshmaṇavatí. Nadiyá was the seat of the last Sen king of Bengal, when the Muhammadans conquered the country. It was in his time that Rámpál attained the highest pinnacle of its glory. The principal works, the ruins of which still exist in some form or other, are attributed to him. Rámpál seems to have been neglected, if not altogether abandoned, after the death of Ballál Sen. Lachhman Sen, his son and heir, lived principally at Gauṛ.

I now approach the solution of a problem which has already evoked much animated discussion. I mean the question of the caste of the Sen Rájás of Bengal. Before submitting my own opinion on the subject, I will briefly examine the different theories that have been advanced, and the evidence on which they are based. I have obtained much assistance from the two articles of Rájá Rájendralála Mitra on the Sen Rájás of Bengal, and the Bengalí work on the same subject by Kailásh Chandra Sinha, to which Mr. Beveridge, one of the honoured members of the Asiatic Society, very kindly referred me, and also from the Bengalí book by Mahimá Chandra Majumdar called 'Gauḍe Bráhman'. Three theories have been advanced about the caste of the Sen Rájás:—(1) that they were Kayasthas, (2) that they were Vaidyas or of the medical caste and (3) that they were Kshatriyas. The first theory is that of Abu-l-Faẓl and the Muhammadan historians. It is not supported by any evidence other than the statement of the Muhammadans, who are likely to hold erroneous views on the subject of Hindú castes. It was never seriously entertained by the Hindús and may be summarily rejected. The second theory is supported by tradition handed down from generation to generation not only in Vikrámpur, the old seat of the Sen Rájás, but throughout Bengal, and was universally believed, till Rájá Rájendralála Mitra in 1865 tried to establish that the Senas were Kshatriyas. This third theory is the most recent one. It was first propounded by Rájá Rájendralála Mitra, a very high

authority in matters antiquarian and supported by others. It is based on some epithets of the Sen kings found in the inscriptions discovered in Rájsháhí, Dinájpur and Baqarganj, and also in the Sanskrit work Dánaságara of which Ballál Sen himself is the reputed author. These I will consider in the two following paragraphs.

Tradition must give place to reliable material evidence if the one is really inconsistent with the other; but before discarding a universal belief, the evidence should be most carefully interpreted. The evidence on which the theory of the Sen Rájás being Kshatriyas is based is the following. In the inscriptions, found in the districts of Dinájpur, Rájsháhí and Baqarganj, the Sen Rájás are described as descendants of the lunar race, and as only the Kshatriyas have a right to trace their descent from that race, it is held that the Senas must be Kshatriyas. In the inscription discovered by Mr. Metcalfe in Rájsháhí, Sámanta Sen is described as a Brahma-Kshatriya. The original Sanskrit is स ब्रह्मक्षत्रियाणामजनि कुलशिरोदाम सामन्तसेनः। Dr. Mitra's rendering of ब्रह्मक्षत्रियाणां कुलशिरोदाम is 'a garland for the head of the noblest Kshatriyas.' According to him, the word ब्रह्म therefore here means 'noble' or 'exalted.' With due deference to so great an authority, I am of opinion that this meaning is not the correct one here. We have various Sanskrit words compounded with ब्रह्म such as ब्रह्मचारी, ब्रह्मराक्षस, ब्रह्मदैत्य, ब्रह्मवादी, ब्रह्मदण्ड, and so forth, and in in all of these the word ब्रह्म retains its original radical meaning of Brahmá or Bráhmaṇa. I therefore see no reason why it should not have the same or a similar meaning in the present instance. Dr. Mitra has not assigned any reason why he takes ब्रह्म to mean 'noble,' which is certainly not the commonly accepted meaning of the term, and cannot be found in the ordinary Sankrit dictionaries. At any rate this meaning would be a far-fetched one. The word ब्रह्मक्षत्रं occurs in the Yajur Veda, and is explained by the annotator as meaning ब्रह्मज्ञान-क्षत्रवीर्य्ये or 'knowledge of the Bráhmaṇas or the Vedas and heroism of the Kshatriyas.' It is therefore not a caste epithet, and following the analogy, we can take ब्रह्मक्षत्रिय to mean 'a person who has the knowledge of the Bráhmaṇas or the Vedas and the heroism of the Kshatriyas,' that is, one who combines both these qualifications; and the clause in question may mean 'a garland for the head of those who have the wisdom of the Bráhmaṇas and the heroism of the Kshatriyas,' without any reference to race or caste. The word ब्रह्मक्षत्र also occurs in Adhyaya 21, part IV, of the Vishṇu Puráṇa, and is explained by the annotator Śrídhara Swámin to mean 'that race from which Bráhmaṇas and Kshatriyas sprung'. The meaning seems to be obscure. The word probably means a mixed race of Bráhmaṇas and Kshatriyas—a race

sprung from Bráhmaṇas on the father's side and Kshatriyas on the mother's. We have it from the Mahábhárata that when the Kshatriya race was being exterminated by Paraśuráma, the women of that caste began to marry Bráhmaṇas, and Vaśishṭha himself is credited with having married Kshatriya women. From that time the race of pure Kshatriyas is said to have become extinct. In Adhyaya 24, part IV, of the Vishṇu Puráṇa, Mahánandi is said to be the last king of the Kshatriya race. His son Mahápadmánanda was born of a Súdra mother, and from him began the reign of Varṇasankara kings or 'kings of mixed castes.'

The above will I think be sufficient to show that Dr. Mitra's interpretation of the word Brahma-kshatriya is most probably not the correct one. I have now to consider the description of the Sen Rájás as descendants of the lunar race. It is a well-known fact that all the princes of India, whether real Kshatriyas or not, have tried to trace their descent from the solar or lunar race of that caste. Even the Rájás of Chuṭiyá Nágpur, whom Colonel Dalton very rightly thinks to be of the aboriginal Cole or Muṇḍa origin, claim to be real Rájpúts, and following their lead, the inferior landholders, who are undoubtedly aboriginal Muṇḍas, are gradually setting up claims to be Hindú Rájpúts. I found this process in full operation when I was in Chuṭiyá Nágpur three years ago. If the Sen kings belonged to the Sankara race or any of the mixed castes, is it not very likely that they would aspire to be Kshatriyas and trace their descent from the lunar race, and their panegyrist Umápati Dhar, a poet and a famous adept in the art of exaggeration, would exalt them into members of the race of the moon? Even now the Súdras of Bengal are looking up. Some time ago there was a movement among the Kayasthas for taking the *yajñopavíta* or 'the sacred thread,' on the assertion that they were originally Kshatriyas; and at the present moment there is a similar movement among the Suvarṇavarṇikas, who now claim to have been originally Vaiśyas.

In the Baqarganj plate, found by Mr. Prinsep, the title of S'ankara Gauḍeśwara is repeatedly applied to the Sen Rájás. The word Gauḍeśwara, no doubt, means the king of Gauṛ or Bengal, but it is not easy to explain the real meaning of the word *śankara* here. It is said to be written with palatal *ś*. Dr. Mitra takes it to mean 'excellent,' but he has not shown any reason for assuming this meaning, which cannot be found in the ordinary Sanskrit dictionaries and is certainly not the commonly accepted import of the term. According to the dictionaries and the common usage of the word, it is, when a substantive, a synonym for Śiva or Mahádeva, and when an adjective, it means 'auspicious.' I find Mr. Prinsep translating the

phrase as 'the auspicious lord of Gour.' It is well known that the Sen Rájás, at least some of them, were *Saivas*, or worshippers of Siva, and the phrase may mean 'the lord of Gauṛ, a worshipper of Siva (Sankara).' Bnt none of these interpretations seem to me to be appropriate. I am of opinion that the word *śankara* here is an euphuism for *sankara*, with a dental *s*, and then it must mean a mixed race, a suggestion which has been noticed in Dr. Mitra's paper. This meaning will be a very appropriate one. Mistakes of a palatal *ś* for a dental one and *vice versâ* are not uncommon in the old inscriptions, and when we remember that the inscription in question was written in the Tirhút or Gauṛ type, which represents an intermediate stage of orthography between the Kuṭila and the modern Bengalí character, the commission of such an error is all the more likely. Śrídhara Swámin, the annotator of the Bhágavata, mentions the commencement of kings of the Varṇa-sankara or the mixed castes in India in his time.

In his own work the Dánaságara,* Ballál Sen does not call the Sen dynasty Kshatriya, but applies the epithet चचचारिचचर्य्य, which means 'following the practices of Kshatriyas'. So in the 6th stanza of the inscription in the copper-plate found in the Sundarbans, the epithet of राजन्यधर्म्माश्रय, which virtually means the same thing as चचचारिचचर्य्य, is applied to Lachhmaṇ Sen. It therefore appears that the Sen Rájás are never distinctly described as Kshatriyas. Does not this show that they were not pure Kshatriyas but belonged to a mixed caste? If they were Kshatriyas, why is it not so stated in unequivocal terms? There is a legend current in Vikrámpur that Ballál Sen was born of a Bráhmaṇa father, the river-god Brahmaputra, who visited his mother in a dream in the form of a Bráhmaṇa. Does not this indicate the mixed nature of the Sen race?

I will now briefly consider the evidence on which the theory that the Sen Rájás were Vaidyas is based. In the various *Kulapanjikas* or genealogies of the Ghaṭaks as well as in the Laghubharata, Adisúr, Ballál Sen, and other Rájás of the Sen family have been distinctly described as members of the Vaidya caste. It is very likely that Devatívra Ghaṭaka, Kavikaṇṭhahára and other Ghaṭakas of the Varendra Bráhmaṇas, who lived about four centuries ago and composed the genealogies, knew the true caste of the Sen Rájás.

My contention is that the inscriptions of the Sen Rájás are not

* [In his *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 77, General Sir A. Cunningham ascribes this work to "Haláyudha, the spiritual adviser of Lakshmana Sena," referring as his authority to Rájá Rájendralála Mitra, in his paper on the Sena kings, in the Journal A. S. B., vol. XXXIV (1865), p. 137. But this is an error, Dr. Mitra there quotes a Sanskrit verse, ascribing the work to Ballál Sen. Ed.]

inconsistent with the genealogies of the Ghaṭakas and are therefore not opposed to tradition. I think the inscriptions support the view that the Senas were of the Varṇa Saṅkara or mixed caste. Manu recognises three classes of mixed castes: (1) *Múrdhávasikta*, or those born of Bráhmaṇa fathers and Kshatriya mothers, (2) *Ambashṭha*, those of Bráhmaṇa fathers and Vaiśya mothers, who are identical with the modern Vaidyas, and (3) *Máhishya*, born of Kshatriya fathers and Vaiśya mothers. There was no practical difference between the Ambashṭhas and Máhishyas, and Vidyábhúshaṇa, the author of *Laghubharata*, called the Máhishyas Vaidyas. He calls Víra Sen or Ádisúra, the founder of the Sen family, a Máhishya. Remembering that they were Kshatriyas on the father's side, the Máhishya or Sen Rájás of Bengal naturally traced their descent from the lunar race of Kshatriyas, and this explains the epithets in the inscriptions recently discovered. Probably the Máhishyas and Vaidyas became gradually amalgamated, and the Sen Rájás came to be regarded as Vaidyas. I am finally of opinion that the Sen Rájás were never pure Kshatriyas, nor originally Vaidyas, but were Múrdhávasiktas or Máhishyas, who were both allied to the Vaidyas. The distinction afterwards wore away, and the Senas became gradually amalgamated with the Vaidyas.

I will now proceed to describe briefly the principal ruins and objects of interest in Rámpál. I have visited them several times during my incumbency as subdivisional officer of Munshíganj, and carefully collected all the traditions and legends by which they are enlivened. First of all, I will take the Masjid of Ba-Ádam* or the mosque consecrated to the Muhammadan faqír of that name. It is a pretty large, strong, brick-built mosque with a high arched dome. The bricks are of the same small size which characterize old Muhammadan architecture. The mosque has two massive stone pillars which are apparently snatched from a Hindú temple, and which tradition identifies as the *gadás* or clubs of Ballál Sen. It is in a dilapidated state, but is worth preserving. It has a stone tablet in front which bears an Arabic inscription, a reduced facsimile of which is herewith published (see Plate V). It will be observed that it states that the mosque was built by Bádsháh Fatḥ Sháh bin Sulṭán Maḥmúd in 880 Ḥijrí or 1475 A. D. It is therefore 414 years old. The faqír to whose memory it is dedicated died, however, in 1106 A. D., (supposing Ballál Sen to have died after a reign of forty years) or 369 years before the mosque was erected.†

* [The real name of the faqír is Bábá Ádam, of which Ba-Ádam is a mere vulgar corruption; another corruption, Bábardam, is mentioned in *Arch. Survey Rep.*, vol. XV, p. 134. Ed.]

† There is a similar mosque with a somewhat similar inscription in Qází Qaṇ-

There is the following legend about the death of the faqír and the fate of Ballál Sen. There lived a Muhammadan family in Kanai Chang, a village south of 'Abdulláhpur and not far from Rámpál. The master of the house had no children. One day a faqír came and begged alms of him, but he refused alms, saying, " I will give no alms, when Alláh has not given me the boon (child) for which I am praying so long." The faqír predicted that he would beget a child and asked him to sacrifice a bull to the altar of Alláh when his desire was fulfilled. He then went away without any alms. In course of time the man had a son born to him, but the Hindús would not allow him to sacrifice a bull. He therefore repaired to the lonely jungle, south of Kanai Chang, and secretly sacrificed a bull. Taking as much meat of the bull as he and the members of his family would be able to consume, he buried the remainder under the ground and returned home. A kite, however, snatched a morsel of the flesh from him, and another kite trying to snatch it the morsel fell down in front of Rájá Ballál Sen's palace. On enquiry the king learned the whole story and ordered the child, to commemorate whose birth the bull was sacrificed, to be brought before him and killed the next day. The Muhammadan learned the king's decree and at night escaped with his wife and child and as much property as he could carry. He fled to Arabia and, meeting Ḥaẓrat Ádam, a faqír, at Mecca, told him all that had happened. Learning that there was a country in which there was no religious toleration, and people were not at liberty to practise their own religious rites, Ḥaẓrat Ádam came to Rámpál with six or seven thousand followers. Ba-Ádam is only another name for Ḥaẓrat Ádam. He began to sacrifice bulls and cows on the spot where the mosque dedicated to him now stands. Rájá Ballál Sen sent his ultimatum, asking him either to leave the country or fight with him. The faqír chose the latter alternative, and a protracted warfare took place between his followers and the king's army. The battles were indecisive for many days, and the loss of men on both sides was heavy. At last the faqír's followers were reduced to only one hundred men. One day Rájá Ballál Sen's men, while going to the market, saw the faqír alone reading Namáj (saying his prayers). The king marched to kill the faqír at this juncture, but as he was diffident of success, he constructed, before leaving his palace, a large agnikuṇḍa or funeral pyre (literally 'a pit of fire'), which still exists in the form of a large pit, and asked the women of his household to kill themselves by throwing themselves into the fire, if he was vanquished and killed. He

bah, two miles from Rámpál. It is described in page 76 of Blochmann's Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal, (Jour. A. S. B., vol. XLII, p. 284.) [See the note at the end of this article. Ed.]

took a pigeon in his coat and proclaimed that the bird's return to the palace without him would mean his death and serve as a signal for the females of the house to perish in the flames to save their caste and chastity. Ballál Sen came to the faqír and struck him with the sword, but the faqír was invulnerable and the sword would not cut his skin. After concluding his prayers, the faqír asked Ballál what brought him there. "To kill you," replied the king. The faqír asked him whether he would embrace the Muhammadan faith or not. The king of course answered in the negative. The faqír said: "It is so ordained that I shall die at your hands. But no sword other than my own will cut me. So take this sword and kill me." Ballál took the sword thus offered and killed the faqír at one stroke. His body was cut into two parts. His head flew to Chittagong, where there is still a prayer-house consecrated to him. His body was buried at Rámpál, and the mosque was subsequently erected over his remains by the Bádsháh after the Muhammadan conquest of Bengal. After the death of the faqír, Ballál went to the tank to bathe and purify himself. As he left his gory clothes on the bank, the pigeon, unobserved, flew to the palace, and at this signal the females of the royal household threw themselves into the fire and perished. Soon finding that the pigeon had flown away, Ballál rode to his palace, but it was too late. Finding that all his family was killed and life was not worth living, he threw himself into the fire and perished in the flames.

Such is the legendary account of the death of Ballál Sen and the fall of Rámpál. The city appears to have been abandoned after his death, and I think there is a substratum of truth in the legend. It is a historical fact that the Arabs were the first race of Muhammadans who invaded Hindústán, and it is not unlikely that their missionary expeditions penetrated as far as Bengal in the eleventh century and fought the Sen kings who had no standing army. The Pál kings regained their ascendancy in this part of Bengal after the death of Ballál. It has been asserted, and not without some show of reason, that Lakshmaṇíya, after his flight from Nadiyá, took refuge in old Vikrámpur, and he and some of his descendants lived in Rámpál or Sunárgáon, and maintained their sway in this part of Bengal during the early years of Muhammadan rule. It is mentioned in the Bengalí book on the Sen Rájás of Bengal by Kailash Chandra Sinha, that probably there was a second Ballál Sen who reigned after the Muhammadan conquest. It first struck me that if there was a second Ballál Sen, he must be the prince who reigned at Rámpál and killed the faqír Ba-Ádam and afterwards himself perished in the funeral pyre, thereby putting an end to the Sen dynasty. But the theory is not based on any reliable evidence, while tradition distinctly says that the Ballál Sen who killed the faqír

was the founder of Kulinism and the most distinguished prince of the Sen dynasty.

The next object of importance is the Rámpál Dighí* or the artificial lake of Rámpál. Formerly it was about a mile long and about 500 yards broad. It is now fast silting up and remains dry for nearly half the year. Cultivators have now broken up parts of the lake and grow *boro* paddy in it. The following is the traditional account of the origin of the lake. Rájá Ballál Sen once promised to excavate a lake, as long as his mother would be able to walk in one direction without stopping, and this he undertook to do in one night, namely, the night immediately following the pedestrian performance of his mother. So one afternoon the queen-mother walked out of the palace and proceeded towards the south. After she had walked some distance, the idea suddenly crossed the king's mind, that if she walked much further, he would be unable to cut such a large lake in one night and keep his word, and if he once broke the promise he made to his mother, he would be doomed to eternal hell. After a short reflection he hit upon a dexterous device. He asked his servants to suddenly touch his mother's feet and paint them with red pigment (*alaktaka*), giving out that a leech bit her and was sucking blood. The servants did so, and the stratagem had the desired effect. The queen-mother stopped, and the point whence she returned homewards became the southernmost boundary of the lake. On that very night the king collected innumerable men and excavated the whole lake. It was so large that one bank was not visible from the other. But for a long time the lake remained dry. Guided by a dream, Rámpál, an intimate friend and, according to another account, maternal uncle of Ballál Sen, one day rode into the lake, and assembling a large number of men on its banks, asked them to call it after his name, when it was filled with water. As soon as he entered into the lake, water streamed up from beneath and filled it in a moment. But Rámpál vanished. Everybody cried: 'Rámpál, Rámpál,' but he could no more be seen. Since that time the lake is called Rámpál Dighí.

This explanation of the genesis of the lake's name never satisfied me. Rámpál is also the name of Ballál Sen's city. Is it not very strange that Ballál's city and the largest lake he excavated should be named after an obscure person unknown to history? Rámpál is certainly the name of a person and is analogous to the names of Bhím Pál and other Pál kings of Bengal. I conjecture that he was a king of the Pál dynasty which reigned at Rámpál after the death of Ballál Sen, and that it was he and not Ballál who excavated the lake, and the city and the lake have been named after him. To the north of the Búṛhi-

* Rámpál Dighí or the artificial lake of Rámpál.

Gangá there are still many ruins to show that the Pál kings reigned in that part of Bengal, and it is a historical fact that they flourished both before and after the Sen dynasty. But as they were Buddhists ruling over a population, the mass of which were Hindús, their names have not been handed down to posterity with that halo of glory which surrounds the Sen kings, who were orthodox Hindús and great patrons of Bráhmans and Brahmanical learning. Again, it is a well known fact that one of the characteristics of the Pál kings was to excavate large lakes and tanks wherever they lived. The Mahipál Dighí, still existing in Dinájpur, is perhaps the largest lake they cut in Bengal. For all these reasons I am of opinion that the prince who gave his name to the city and lake of Rámpál was a king of the Pál dynasty.

There is another but smaller lake in Rámpál. It is called the Kodál-dhoá (the spade-washing) Dighí. It is about 700 cubits by 500 cubits, and is still very deep. Tradition has it that when the excavation of the Rámpál Dighí was over, each digger scooped out a spadeful of earth from a place close by, and thus the Kodál-dhoa Dighí was made. The story of course is fiction pure and simple, invented to show that myriads of men were engaged to excavate the Rámpál Dighí.

The next object of interest is Bárí Ballál Sen or Ballál Sen's palace. It is a very large and high mound of earth, surrounded by a deep moat, about 400 yards by 300 yards. No architectural remains are visible. The cicerones point to a large black pit inside the ruins as the Agnikuṇḍa or funeral pyre in which perished Ballál Sen and his family.

Another object of interest in Rámpál is the everlasting Gajariyá tree. It is a large living tree standing on the north bank of Rámpál Dighí. It is about 100 cubits high and has two large straight stems. Trees of this species abound in this part of Bengal, and there is nothing peculiar in its appearance: only it shows no signs of age or decay, though it is undoubtedly very old. It is said to be immortal and existing from the time of Ballál Sen. Respectable men of seventy and eighty years of age, whose testimony I am unable to disbelieve, have told me that they saw the tree in its present state of growth from their very boyhood. The tree is certainly a botanical curiosity. It is held in high veneration by the Hindús, and various stories are current about its virtues and sanctity. It is worshipped by the women, particularly by the barren ones, who besmear it with oil and vermilion in hopes of being cured of barrenness. A faqír is said to have violated its sanctity by cutting a root, but he instantly vomited blood and died. No one would now venture to tear a leaf or lop off a branch. A small fair is annually held under the sacred tree on the eighth day of the moon in the month of

Chaitra, when it is worshipped by pilgrims from various parts of the subdivision.

The following legend explains the origin of the Gajariyá tree's immortality. It was at first in a decayed state and was used for tying Ballál Sen's elephants. One morning some hermits (Rishis) presented themselves before Ballál Sen's gate to confer a boon on the king as a reward for his piety. They sent their message to the king by his door-keeper. The man went in and returning said that the king was smoking and was unable to come out that instant. After awhile he was again sent in. This time he returned with the news that the king was besmearing his body with oil. The door-keeper was sent in again and again, but he always returned with some excuse or other for the king's inability to come out and receive them. Once the man found the king bathing, and again taking his noontide meal, and the third time taking his siesta. He never communicated the message to the king, but only went in to observe whether he had leisure to come out. Disgusted with the king, the hermits left the palace, but at the time of departure they blessed the Gajariyá tree and conferred on it the boon of immortality which was originally intended for the king. Instantly the tree showed signs of vitality. Leaves and blossoms sprouted forth in every direction, and the people were struck with awe. The king came out shortly afterwards and, being apprised of the news, immediately sent for the hermits. But it was too late. The hermits had vanished.

There is a comparatively small tank in the south-west part of Rámpál, which deserves a passing notice. It is called Rájá Haris Chandra's Dighí. It is overgrown with trees and shrubs which are flooded over with water for a week once a year at the time of the full moon in the month of Mágh. Before and after this period the tank is dry. I have as yet received no satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon. The tank is said to have been excavated by Rájá Haris Chandra, probably one of the kings of the Pál dynasty.

There is a mosque called Qází's Masjid not far from Ba-Ádam's. It is an ordinary plain-looking prayer mosque, which was certainly erected after that of Ba-Ádam. It boasts of no inscription, but has several stone idols of Hindú gods and goddesses in its verandah, which the proprietors have evidently preserved as trophies of Islám. The present Qází of the mosque showed me a firman of the Emperor 'Álamgír, granting lands for the benefit of the institution; but I cannot vouch for its genuineness.

There are two roads the construction of which is attributed to Ballál Sen. The one connects the river Dhaleśwarí on the north with the Padma on the south, and the other goes in a different direction from

Rámpál right up to the Padma. The latter is called Kachkí Dwarja. The roads are now overgrown with trees and shrubs, and have in many places been broken up by the cultivators' plough, but what still remains clearly shows that they were once spacious roads as wide as thirty cubits. I once proposed to utilize the first mentioned road in constructiug one from Munshíganj to the Police outpost at Rájabárí, a distance of about twelve miles, but it was found impracticable. The Kachkí Dwarja is named after the fish of that name. The astrologers had predicted, so the story runs, that Rájá Ballál Sen would die of bones of fish sticking in his throat. To avoid such an unnatural and painful death, the king refrained from eating any fish, except the kachkí which was devoid of bones. He therefore constructed the road to the Padma, to enable fishermen to supply his table daily with the boneless fish.

[Note by the Editor.—The inscription, of which a reduced facsimile, based on three ink impressions, is published in Plate V, reads as follows:

Line 1:—قَال اللهُ تَعالىٰ و انّ الْمَساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احداً قَال النبيّ صُلى
اللهُ عليه وسلم مَن بنيٰ مسجداً في الدُّنيا بنيٰ اللهُ له قصراً في الجنة بنيٰ هذا المَسجِد

Line 2:—الجامع الملك المعظم ملك كافور في زمان السلطان ابن السُّلطان جلال
الدّنيا و الدّين ابوالمظفر فتحشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان في تاريخ اوسط شهر
رجب سنة ثما و ثمانين ثمنماية

It is dated "in the middle of the month of Rajab in the year 888 A. H., during the reign of Jalálu-d-dín Fatḥ Sháh." Mr. Gupta reads the date as "the 2nd day of Rajab 880," on the authority of a Maulawí of Dacca, who deciphered the inscription for him. But this is certainly wrong. The date can be quite clearly read. It is expressed in words: above سنة *sanat* there is ثما *ṣamá;* by the side of *sanat*, to the left, there is ثمانين *ṣamánín;* above *samánín* again is ثمنماية *ṣamanamiyat* (sic); below the latter word is one و *waw*, and below *ṣamánín* is the other و *waw* of the date. Thus the whole reads *sanat samá wa samánín wa samánamiyat, i. e.*, eight and eighty and eight hundred. Nor does the date specify "the 2nd day," but simply says اوسط *ausaṭ* or "the middle."

On comparing this inscription with that published by Blochmann in this Journal for 1873, Vol. XLII, p. 284, there can be no doubt that the two inscriptions are identical. There are, indeed, three slight divergences. In the date Mr. Blochmann reads ثمان but the inscription has only ثما (without the final *nún*). This is apparently a mere blunder

of the engraver, who seems to have forgotten to incise it. Possibly the wrong reading of the date as 880 may have been caused by this faulty legend. He also reads ثمانماية whereas in the inscription the word is really spelt ثمنماية (without the first *alif*). Again Mr. Blochmann reads الله له مثله في whereas the inscription really has الله له قصرًا في. But there can be no doubt that these three divergences are the mere result of an oversight. As may be seen by referring to the numerous similar inscriptions, published by Blochmann in vol. XLII of the Journal, it is the word قصرًا (not مثله) that is uniformly used in them; and there is no difficulty in recognising it on the facsimile of the present inscription.

Mr. Gupta, in his footnote (pp. 17, 18) says: "There is a similar mosque with a somewhat similar inscription in Qáẓí Qaṣbah, two miles from Rámpál," and he is disposed to identify this inscription with that published by Blochmann. This identification is quite untenable. I have obtained four impressions of this second inscription, three through Mr. Gupta, and one through Maulawí Abul Khair Muḥammad Siddiq, the Superintendent of the Dacca Madrasah. Unfortunately the inscription is too badly preserved to be wholly read, but luckily the date is sufficiently legible to show that the month is Ẓi-l-Qa'dah, and and that the year is expressed in *figures* as well as in words. The figures are 976. This is quite sufficient to preclude the identification of this inscription with that published by Blochmann. Moreover this inscription is incised in three lines, while that of the Ádam Shahíd mosque, published by Blochmann and now republished by Mr. Gupta, occupies only two lines. In fact, Mr. Gupta was misled by an error in Blochmann's account, or rather by an error of Dr. Wise, whose account Blochmann quotes. Dr. Wise says that "the Masjid of Ádam Shahíd is in Bikrámpur, at a village, called Qáẓí Qaṣbah, within two miles of Balálbáṛí, the residence of Ballál Sen." But this is quite wrong; the mosque is not "two miles from the Balálbáṛí," but only "about half a mile to the north of it," as General Sir A. Cunningham, from whom Blochmann received the inscription, distinctly states (see his *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Vol. XV, p. 134). It, therefore, occupies the precise position described by Mr. Gupta. Dr. Wise, in his account,—it is clear,—confused two mosques, one of Ádam Shahíd at Rámpál, and another placed by him and Mr. Gupta at Qáẓí Qaṣbah. The exact locality of the latter mosque, however, would seem to be the Rikábí Bazár, to judge from Maulawí Abul Khair's letter, quoted below. There are four mosques in or near Qáẓí Qáṣbah, and these four mosques seem to have been more or less confused by the several writers on the subject: and the confusion probably arose from the circumstance that Qáẓí Qaṣbah is a name applied to a large area, apparently including the localities of all four mosques.

In order to clear up the matter as much as possible, Maulawí Abul Khair, at my request, was good enough personally to visit the different localities and himself procure impressions of the two inscriptions. I subjoin the substance of his interesting letter.

"As arranged I went yesterday to Munshíganj to see the mosque at Qází Qaṣbah. I took with me as my guide a man who proved to be not so well acquainted with the locality as I expected. He had informed me that there was another old mosque at Rikábíbazár [No. I] which was close to the *ghát* where we were to land from the steamer. We landed at about 11O'Cl. and proceeded to the latter mosque. We found it to be in a dilapidated condition, though there were signs of its being used as a prayer-house. It appeared to have been an edifice of elegant structure with a floor, 15 cubits square, and one dome. The bricks are all polished and carved, and the corners and edges are so neat that from a distance they seem to be stones. The cement used is a whitish substance, not ordinary súrkhí and lime, but perhaps powdered stone and lime, or something else. There was no inscription in the mosque, but on enquiry we learnt that the stone was removed and placed in another mosque [No. II] in the neighbourhood recently built. There we repaired and found the inscription. The stone not being good many of the letters are corroded, and are not decipherable. I have taken an impression, however, which I send to you in a separate cover for whatever use you may think fit to make of it. It is dated seven hundred and odd, which I could not read. The name of the month is Ẓi-l-Qa'dah.

"We then proceeded towards Qází Qaṣbah, and after a tedious journey reached the mosque [No. III]. My disappointment was great when I found that the mosque, though old, did not present any interesting feature, the construction being of an ordinary type, no ornamentation or elegance having been attempted. Besides there was no inscription; the stone I was informed had been removed by the Collector of Dacca, during the proceeding of a lawsuit between rival claimants to some land belonging to the mosque. The only interesting thing that we found there was a Hindú idol, carved out of a block of stone, lying with the face downward and forming a step to the verandah of the mosque. I had become so fatigued that I feared I would not be able to return to the ghát without some sort of conveyance. But none was available. I was, however, informed that the route we had taken was a circuitous one, and that the ghát would not be very far from that place by a short-cut through Rámpál. I further learnt that we would pass by the mosque of Bábá Ádam [No. IV]. This news somewhat enlivened me, and I was on my legs again. We passed by the famous Ballálbárí, of which I saw the ditch about a hundred yards wide. The Ballálbárí or palace of

Ballál Sen seems to have been an entrenched fortress of which only the trench and some ruins now remain as a memorial. Not far from this I found the tomb of Ádam Shahíd or Bábá Ádam and the mosque [No. IV]. This edifice is also in ruins, but presents an interesting view to the archæologist or antiquary. The structure is of the some style as that of the mosque at Rikábíbazár [No. I], but more exquisite and ornamental. The cement is of the same nature, the bricks polished and carved. The roof consists of six domes supported by two stone pillars in the middle of the hall. One of the domes does not exist, and another has partly fallen down. The pillars are monoliths of a whitish stone, which always "perspire," and lead ignorant people to associate superstitious ideas with them, as they see water flow down on their surface, and feel them very cold. I saw marks of red pigment on the pillars, which I heard were put there by Hindú women, (and I believe by Musalmán women too, though the Khádim denied this) on making vows for the attainment of some object. The stone bearing the inscription is placed very high, so that it could not be distinctly read. I discovered, however, that the copy I have sent to you was only of one line, there being another line above it of which no impression was sent to me. As it was already very late in the afternoon and I could not wait for a scaffolding being put up, I could not obtain an impression. The inscription published by Blochmann is, I believe, of this mosque, and he was not very wrong in giving the name of the place as Qází Qaṣbah; for Qází Qaṣbah extends over a large area, and the place where this mosque stands is also included within it. This fact decides the dispute as to the name of the place being given by Blochmann as Qází Qaṣbah and by Bábú Asutosh Gupta as Rámpál. It may be called by four different names, *viz.*, Qází Qaṣbah, Rámpál, Ballálbárí and Durgábárí. The inscription is quite legible, no letters have been destroyed or mutilated, the stone being jet black and well polished, not liable to corrosion. The Khádims showed me twelve places in the interior of the mosque, where, they said, lay twelve stones of great value which were removed by Mags during an incursion into Bengal in remote ages. These stones, they said, shone in the darkness of the night and illuminated the hall! Some things have been dug out of the walls, no doubt, but whether they were stones of great value which shone in darkness I cannot vouch. This mosque at any rate is an object of interest to the antiquarian."

From another letter of his, I may quote the following passages:

"The mosque at Qází Qaṣbah [No. III] is not known as the mosque of Bábá Ádam or Ádam Shahíd. It is called Qází Bárí mosque. Ballálbárí is situated near the mosque [No. II] of Ádam Shahíd and not near Qází Qaṣbah; and Ballál Bárí and Rámpál are only two names of the

same place. There is no one's tomb near the mosque of Qází Qaṣbah. As for the inscription, no one can say what it contained. The other mosque, of course, is called after Bábá Ádam or Ádam Shahíd and is situated in Durgábáṛí, which is close to Rámpál or Ballálbáṛí, at a distance of about half a mile. And Ballálbáṛí and Durgábáṛí both stand at a distance of a mile from Qází Qaṣbah. The tomb and the mosque are lying unrepaired. Some religious man has the charge of the mosque, and prayers are said therein. The mosque has two domes between which there are two stone pillars one on each side. There is no courtyard outside the mosque. The mosque of Qází Qaṣbah [No. III] also has two domes but no courtyard and pillars. There are stones at the threshold carved into images and placed overturned."

I have numbered the mosques in the above quoted extracts by corresponding numerals.

No. I. Mosque of Rikábí Bazár; a beautiful structure, similar to the mosque of Ádam Shahíd at Rámpál (No. IV); with only one dome; its inscription, dated in the month Zi-l-Qa'dah 976 A. H., removed to mosque No. II. It is the mosque referred to in Mr. Gupta's footnote (p. 17), as situated "in Qází Qaṣbah, two miles from Rámpál;" it is also apparently the mosque, said by Dr. White to be "within two miles of Ballálbáṛí at a village called Qází Qaṣbah" and erroneously called by him the Ádam Shahíd mosque (No. IV).

No. II. A mosque recently built near mosque No. I; contains the inscription belonging to No. I.

No. III. An ordinary plain mosque, with domes, but with no pillars, also with Hindú carved images in the floor of the verandah; its inscription removed to Dacca; referred to by Mr. Gupta towards the end of his paper (p. 22).

No. IV. Mosque of Ádam Shahíd, close to Rámpál, at the distance of about half a mile; a highly ornamental structure, resembling the Rikábí Bazár mosque (No. I); with the inscription (Plate V) dated "in the middle of Rajab, 888 A. H., in the reign of Jalálu-d-dín Fath Sháh;" described by Dr. White (quoted by Blochmann) in Journal A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 285, General Sir A. Cunningham in Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. XV, p. 135, and Maulawí Abul Khair, as possessing *six* domes, of which, according to Dr. White, *three*, but according to Maulawí Abul Khair only *two* have fallen in, while General Sir A. Cunningham does not notice the destruction of any of them. On the other hand, Mr. Gupta, who describes it as a "brick built mosque with a high arched dome," would seem to allow it only *one* dome. In that case, he would seem to have confused it with the mosque (No. I) at Rikábí Bazár, which Maulawí Abul Khair states to have only one dome.]

The Namuchi-myth; or an attempt to explain the text of Rigveda viii. 14. 13.—*By* CHARLES R. LANMAN, Professor in Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.

The fact has been recognized, ever since the earliest days of Vedic study, that the myths of the Veda are the poetic outgrowth of certain natural phenomena. The fact appears, for example, from the work of Yáska, when he quotes the opinion of his predecessors. And the natural basis of any given myth is usually not difficult to ascertain. Such, however, is not the case with the one now in question. The text cited above reads:

अपां फेनेन नमुचेः
शिर इन्द्रोदवर्तयः।
विश्वा यदजय स्पृधः॥

It is commonly understood and rendered as follows: 'With the foam of the waters, Namuchi's head, O Indra, thou didst cut off, when thou wast conquering all thy foes.'

There is no doubt about the incorrectness of this interpretation. Nevertheless it is an exceedingly ancient one, as appears from the legends into which this brief allusion of the Vedic Saṃhitá is expanded in the Bráhmaṇas. From the Bráhmaṇa-passages* and from the explicit language of Sáyaṇa†, it is clear that the water-foam was conceived as the actual weapon with which Indra cut off the demon's head. The fable says that Indra used this most remarkable weapon because he had sworn to Namuchi, saying, "Neither by day nor by night will I slay thee, neither with the mace nor with the bow, ... neither with the dry nor with the wet." And so, in order to slay him, without perjuring himself, Indra smote the demon at twilight, which was neither day nor night, and with the foam of the water, which was neither dry nor wet. 'He cast the water-foam into (the shape of) a thunderbolt'—अपां फेनं वज्रमसिञ्चत्—literally, 'The water-foam he made by pouring or founding (as molten metal) to be a bolt.'

All this is quite in keeping with the style of the Bráhmaṇas; and it follows naturally enough from the text of the Saṃhitá, provided we misunderstand it as did the authors of the Bráhmaṇas. But to my mind there is no conceivable natural phenomenon of which this may be re-

* See Çatapatha Br., xii. 7. 3; Táittiríya Br., i. 7. 1. These passages, with one from the Mahábhárata, are conveniently assembled by Muir, in his *Sanskrit Texts*, iv². 261.

† फेनेन तस्य शिरश्चिच्छेद..,अपां फेनेन वज्रीभूतेन॥

garded as the mythical reflex. We are therefore led to inquire, did not the words of the sacred text mean something different from what even the ancients themselves supposed them to mean? I believe that they did and that the misunderstanding can be accounted for.

I suggest that the Vedic text be translated: 'With water-foam Namuchi's head, O Indra, thou didst cause to fly asunder, when thou wast conquering all thy foes.' This appears to me intelligible if we assume that the natural phenomenon to which it refers is a waterspout ('*trombe*') on an inland lake. How, now, does this view accord with the natural facts in question and with a strict verbal exegesis of the text?

Major Sherwill has given a description of Bengal waterspouts in the Journal of this Society for 1860, volume XXIX., p. 366 f., along with some excellent pictures. And in a German work of Th. Reye, entitled *Die Wirbelstürme*, p. 17 f., further information and pictorial illustration may be found. The waterspout is of course an object of terror, and it is most natural that it should be personified as a demon. The verb वर्तयितुम् means 'cause to rotate,' and the motion is qualified as upward and outward motion by the preposition उद्. The compound उद्वर्तयः means accordingly, 'thou didst cause to move upward and outward or to fly asunder with a gyratory or centrifugal motion.' It is not possible to express by one simple English phrase the ideas involved in the compound; but they seem to me to be quite simple in themselves and to follow unforced from the Sanskrit and to be thoroughly suitable for the not infrequent phenomenon of a waterspout as seen by unscientific eyes. The head of the column is twisted and made to burst asunder and scatter itself 'with foam' (फेनेन, as an instrumental of accompaniment), *i. e.*, in abundant foamy masses. Then, with the dispersion of the column, often comes (see Sherwill, p. 370, Reye, p. 32) a heavy rain. This is all in entire accord with the usual representations of gracious Indra's deeds of prowess.

In particular, also, it accords most strikingly with the quite differently expressed idea of Rigveda v. 30. 8*b* (= vi. 20. 6*b*), where Indra is spoken of as 'twirling (like a stick of attrition or like a churning-stick) the head of the demon Namuchi,'

शिरो दासस्य नमुचेर्मथायन्।

and that, immediately after the couplet in stanza 7,

अधा दासस्य नमुचेः शिरो यत्
अवर्तयो मनवे गातुमिच्छन्।

This explanation of the stanza in question, moreover, harmonizes well with the succeeding stanza, Rigveda, viii. 14. 14,

मायाभिरत्यिन्द्रधत
इन्द्र द्यामारुरुक्षतः।
अव दस्यूँरधनुथाः॥

in which Indra is praised for hurling down the demons that were striving with magic wiles to creep up and to scale the heights of heaven. To the poetic fancy, nothing would suggest more naturally the idea of demons trying to scale the heavens than the sight of this strange magical ladder betwixt earth and sky.

In this connection, the discussion of Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, ii. 346-7, should be compared. The language of the śloka at Mahábhárata, v. 10. 37 = 328 seems also to favor my view. The whole epic passage is a reminiscence of the Namuchi-story.

The false interpretation of the ancients, finally, rests simply upon the ambiguity of the instrumental case form फेनेन. The case might denote the relation of accompaniment—as it really does here; or it might denote the relation of means—as the authors of the Bráhmaṇas supposed it to do.

On some new or rare Muhammadan and Hindú Coins.—By Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle.

In July and September last I received from the Deputy Commissioner of Hoshangábád, in two instalments, a hoard of 477 gold coins, which had been found in a field in the Soházpur Taḥsíl of the Hoshangábád District, by some ploughmen while ploughing their field.

This hoard was carefully examined by me, and a detailed report published in the *Proceedings* of the Society for December 1887.

Among the 477 coins, there were 451 belonging to different (so-called) "Paṭhán" emperors of Dehlí; 4 belonging to the Mughal emperors Aurangzíb and Farrukh Siyar, 1 belonging to the Bengal king Sikandar bin Ilyás, and 21 silver-gilt forgeries.

The "Paṭhán" emperors of whom there were coins, are Ghiyáṣu-d-dín Balban (1 specimen), Muizzu-d-dín Kaiqobád (1), Jalálu-d-dín Fírúz (1), 'Aláu-d-dín Muḥammad (391), Ghiyáṣu-d-Tughlaq I. (3), Muḥammad bin Tughlaq (24), Fírúz Sháh (19), Fírúz Sháh and Fatḥ Khán (2), Fírúz Sháh and Ẓafar (2), Ghiyáṣu-d-dín Tughlaq II. (2), Abú Bakr bin Ẓafar (1), Muḥammad bin Fírúz (1), Maḥmúd bin Muḥammad bin Fírúz (1), and Maḥmúd bin Muḥammad bin Tughlaq (1).

Most of these coins belong to more or less well-known types, which have been already published in Thomas' *Chronicles of the Paṭhán Kings*

of Dehli. See details in the report above referred to. It will be seen from that report, that in the present hoard there are several types of coins which were still noted as "unique" in Thomas' book; *e. g.*, the coin of Jalálu-d-din Fírúz (Chron. No. 120), several of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq (Chron. Nos. 172, 179), one of Fírúz Sháh (Chron. No 226), one of Fírúz Sháh and Ẓafar (Chron. No. 245). There are in it also some coins, which are not to be found in Thomas' *Chronicles*, though they have been published elsewhere: thus two of Maḥmúd bin Muḥammad bin Fírúz (with *Abu-l-Muẓaffar*, as published by myself, in this Journal, vol. LII, p. 213, for 1883), and one of Maḥmúd bin Muḥammad bin Tughlaq (published by Mr. Delmerick in this Journal, vol. XLIII, p. 97, for 1874).

The most important in this collection of "Paṭhán" coins, however, are five, which, to the best of my knowledge, are unique, or at least have never been noticed or published. These are the following (see Plate IV):

1, One coin of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq (Plate IV, No. 1). It reads as follows:

Obv.	Rev.
الحاكم بامر الله	ابو العبّاس احمد ٥

The reverse seems to bear a date, consisting of two numerals. One of them, 5, is distinctly seen by the side of *abú;* but the other above the *s* of *'Abbás* is obscure. As the Khalíf Abu-l-Abbás Aḥmad reigned from 741-753, the date of the coin can only be 745. This coin has some similarity with Muḥammad bin Tughlaq's copper coin, No. 218 in Thomas' *Chronicles.*

2, Two coins of Ghiyáṣu-d-dín Tughlaq II. He is mentioned in Thomas' *Chronicles*, as the twenty-first king (A. H. 790-791 = A. D. 1388). He reigned only a few months, as the rival of Muḥammad bin Fírúz and Abu Bakr. Thomas' *Chronicles* only notice "silver and copper" coins of his (p. 302). The present collection contains two gold coins of his, of two different types. The first (Plate IV, No. 2) reads as follows:

Obv.	Rev.
السُلطان الاعظم	في زمن الاعام
غياث الدُنيا و الدين	امير المومنين
تغلق شاه	ابي عبدالله
السلطاني	خلدت خلافته

Margin: on reverse: [٧] ٩١ دهلي

It was struck at Delhí, in the year 791. The mint is distinct on the margin, but the date is only partially preserved. There can be no doubt, however, of its being a coin of Tughlaq II., and not of Tughlaq I., on account of the mention of the Khalíf Abi 'Abdulláh. This Khalíf only ascended the throne in 763 A. H., while Tughlaq I. died already in 725 A. H. Abi 'Abdulláh's Khalífat lasted, with interruptions, down to 808 A. H. This identification I owe to Mr. Chas. J. Rodgers, of the Archæological Survey, to whom I showed the coin.

The second (Pl. IV, No. 3) reads as follows:

Obv.	Rev.
غياث الدنيا	المتوكل على
و الدين ناصر	الله ابو المظفر
امير المومنين	تغلق شاه

Margin, on reverse: illegible.

This coin is also shown to be one of Tughlaq II., by the mention of the Khalíf Al Mutawakkal 'Alí Alláh, who is the same as the above mentioned Abi 'Abdulláh. The execution of this coin is rather crude, especially of the word Abu-l-Muẓaffar.

3, One coin of Abú Bakr, the son of Ẓafar Khán and grandson of Fírúz Sháh. He succeeded Tughlaq II., but only reigned for a little more than a year, from 791 to 792 A. H. In Thomas' *Chronicles* (p. 303) he is noticed as the twenty-second king, but only copper or silver copper coins of his are described. The present collection contains one gold coin, which reads as follows (Plate IV, No. 4):

Obv.	Rev.
السلطان الاعظم	في زمن الامام
ابو بكر شاه بن ظفر	امير المومنين
بن فيروز شاه	ابي عبدالله
السلطاني	خلدت خلافته

There are faint traces of a margin on the reverse, which probably gave the mint and date.

4, One coin of Sikandar bin Ilyás, one of the independent kings of Bengal. For some account of him, see this Journal, vol. XXXVI, p. 58, and vol. XLII, p. 256. So far as I am aware, only silver coins of his have hitherto been discovered; they have been described and figured by E. Thomas, in vol. XXXVI. The coin in the present collection is of gold, and reads as follows (Plate IV, No. 5):

Obv.	Rev.
الامام	يمين خليفه
الاعظم ابو	الله ناصر امير
المجاهد سكندر	المومنين خلد
شاه ابن الياس	الله خلافه
شاه السلطان	فته

There was a margin on the reverse, which probably contained the mint and date, but it is quite mutilated. The readings are identical, and their arrangement nearly identical, with those on Thomas' type No. 4 (or coin, No. 22) in vol. XXXVI, p. 64. The mint, accordingly, would seem to have been Fírúzábád.

To these five coins I add another which is not new, as it has been already described by Thomas in his *Chronicles*, p. 298. But I am not aware that it has ever been figured; and the present specimen has the further advantage of having preserved a portion of the margin on the reverse, giving the mint and date. It is a coin bearing the joint names of Fírúz Sháh and his son Fatḥ Khán, and reads as follows (Plate IV, No. 6):

Obv.	Rev.
☥ شاه	في زمان الامام
فتحخان فيروز	امير المومنين
مدّ الله ظلال	ابوالفتح المعتضد الله
جلاله	خلدت خلافته

Margin: on reverse: في سنه احد كه

Fatḥ Khán was made co-regent in 760 A. H., and the Khalíf Abu-l-Fatḥ whose name appears on the reverse, reigned from 753-763 A. H. It follows that the date of the coin, of which only the numeral 1 is preserved, must be 761. The name of the mint I am unable to read.

I take this opportunity to publish figures of two copper coins of Saifu-d-dín al Hasan Qurlagh. They belong to the well-known "Bull and Horseman" type, already noticed by Thomas in his *Chronicles*, p. 96 (No. 82). They show on the obverse a horseman with the legend, in Nágarí characters, श्री हमीरः *S'rí Hamíraḥ;* and on the reverse a humped bull, also with a Nágarí legend. The latter, as given by Thomas, is श्री हसण कुरल *S'rí Hasaṇa Kurala;* and this is, no doubt, the style in which it is met with in by far the greater majority of specimens. But occasionally the name is found in full कुरलक *Kurlaka.* Among a number of 100 of these coins, discovered not long ago in Sháhpúr in the Panjáb, and examined by me, I found about a dozen giving the full name (see

Proceedings for December 1888). On Plate IV, I give the reverses of four specimens (Nos. 7—10). No. 7 shows the usual form कुरल *kurala*, but No. 8 has distinctly कुरलक *kuralaka* (the ल *l* is slightly injured); No. 9 reads श्री हसण कु *Śrí Hasaṇa Ku*, and No. 10 has श्री हसण कुरल *Śrí Hasaṇa Kurala*.

I also take this opportunity to publish two gold coins (Plate IV, fig. 11, 12) which I found among a lot of 506 coins collected by Bábú P. C. Mukherjí, on special duty with Archæological Survey, and forwarded to the Indian Museum in Calcutta. They belong to the class commonly known as 'Kanauj coins.' Coins of this description were issued by the Kulachuri kings of Chedi, the Gaharwár (Ratḥor) kings of Kanauj and the Chandel kings of Khajuraha. As the two coins, here published, are said to have been found in Khajuraha, I think it most probable that they are Chandel coins, though I feel uncertain as to their exact attribution.

No. 11—I propose to read.

श्री मत्प	*Śrí Mat Pa-*
रमर्द्दि	*ramarddi*
देव	*Deva*

No. 12—may be read.

श्री मद्वी	*Śrí Mat Ví-*	or श्री मद्बा	*Śrí Mat Bá-*
रवम्म	*ra Varmma**	लवम्म *	*la Varmma**
* देवी	** Devi*	* देवी	** Devi*

The final long *í* of *devi* seems clear; but it is puzzling.

The king to whom No. 12 belongs, I take to be the 20th of General Sir A. Cunningham's list of Chandel kings (*Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. XXI, p. 80), *viz.* Víra Varmma, who reigned from about 1240—1280 A. D. Or it might be Bála Varmma, mentioned by Mr. V. A. Smith in his paper on the "History of Bundelkhand" (Journal, B. A. S., Vol. L, p. 19); but he appears to have been only one of the younger scions of the regal house, and would not have been entitled to issue coins in his name.

No. 11 I take to belong to the well-known Paramárddi Deva (the 18th of Gen. Sir A. Cunningham's list), who reigned from about 1165—1203 A. D., and fought with the famous Prithví Ráj and Quṭbu-d-dín Aibak.

If my attributions are correct, both the coins now published would appear to be unique. For the only Chandel coins hitherto known and published, so far as I am aware, are those noticed by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. X, pp. 25—27 (see his Plate X). They belong to the following five Chandel princes: Kírti Varma (12th of the list), Hallakshaṇa Varma (13th), Jaya Varma

(14th), Prithví Varma (16th), Madana Varma (17th). Then follows Paramarddi Varma (18th), a coin of whom is now published for the first time. I may note, however, that Gen. Sir A. Cunningham's coins, Nos. 15 and 16 on his Plate X (Vol. X), appear to show some resemblance to my No. 12. They too seem to read *devi*. They are marked on his Plate as "unknown."

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Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. II.—1889.

Life of Sum-pa Khan-po, also styled Yeśes-Dpal-hbyor, the author of the Rehumig (Chronological Table.)—*By* BÁBÚ SARAT CHANDRA DÁS, C. I. E.

This great Lama was born in the year 1702 A. D. (*Tree-monkey* of the 12th cycle of 60 years) at a place in the neighbourhood of the *D*gon-luñ monastery of Amdo in ulterior Tibet. He is better known by his family name of Sum-pa, which means one from the country of Sum, a province in Western Tibet. In his infancy he is said to have given indications of his identifying himself with the spirit of his predecessor. While very young he learnt to read and write with extraordinary facility. He became well known by the name of Sumpa-Shab*s*-druñ. He was admitted into the monastery of *D*gon-luñ in the 9th year of his age. He received instruction in the sacred literature of the Buddhists under *L*chan skya Rinpo-chhe Ñag-*D*vañ chho*s* *l*dan) and Thu Kwan chho*s* kyi*r*gya-*m*tsho and other great Lamas. From *L*chañ-*s*kya he received the vows of monkhood, who gave him the name Ye*ś*e*s* *D*pal *h*byor. He studied metaphysics, logic, rhetoric, poetry, Buddhist liturgy, ritual, and the dogmatical and theoretical differences of the various Buddhist schools. He also learnt arithmetic, medicine, the science of vocal music, the works on Sútras and Tantras, and the art of sacred painting. With the acquisition of all this learning he was occupied till the twentieth year of his age. In addition to acquiring all the virtues and talents of his predecessor, he gained the highest proficiency in astronomy, astrology and the science

of figures. His fame of learning surpassed that of all other Lamas of his age in Tibet, China, and Mongolia. In the twentieth year of his age he visited Tibet proper, and took his admission as a student in the monastery of *H*bras-*s*Púñ (Dapúñ). In the year 1725 he visited *G*tsañ, where he took the final vows of monkhood from Panchhen *B*lo-*l*ssañ Yeśes. In the 22nd year of his age he went on a pilgrimage to Lhokha with a view to visit Sam-yea, and the famous sanctuaries of Yar-luñ, where he was very much pleased with an interview with *R*gya *l*sras Rinpochhe (Ñag *D*vañ Hjig*s* med). *R*gyal-sras is said to have explained to him in a prophetic manner what he was destined to achieve and how he should proceed to Amdo, for the purpose of founding monasteries and temples there, and also for diffusing Buddhism in China. In his 23rd year he was appointed *M*Khanpo (abbot) of *S*go Mañ in *H*bras spuñ. In the following year, when a dispute arose between the two provinces *D*vus and Gtsañ, he persistently declined to allow the monks of his college to take up arms against their enemies, as it was an act prohibited by the laws of Buddhism. The monks of other colleges followed his example and desisted from fighting. He filled the chair of *S*go-mañ for a period of five years, after which he returned to Amdo. In the 30th year of his age, in pursuance of the prediction of *R*gyal-sras, he founded the monastery of *B*shad *S*grub-*g*liñ with about eighty monks. He brought the recluse hermitage of *B*sam.*g*tan-*g*liñ ri-khro*d* with fifteen monks, which was founded by *D*pal *l*Dan *h*od sser, under his own monastery, and afterwards called it by the name of Sum-pa rikro*d*. At the age of thirty-four, at the command of the emperor Chhin-luñ (divine protector), and in the 2nd year of his reign, he visited China. / Both *L*chan *s*kya Ro*l*-pa*h*i *r*Dorje and he were presented to the emperor, who asked them many questions on religious matters. Sumpa Khanpo is said to have answered all of them without any difficulty whatever. Pleased with him the emperor commanded that he be appointed the spiritual guide of all the chiefs of Mongolia, and he also conferred on him a high sacerdotal rank by letters patent, and authorized him to bear the title of Huthogtu (saint). The Lama respectfully accepted all the imperial favours, with the exception of the title of Huthogtu which honour he respectfully declined, according to him it being intended for those who aspired to worldly glory. The emperor was struck with the Lama's indifference to such a high honour, and remarked that within his vast empire he did not know one who like him could look with indifference at such an exalted distinction. Henceforth he rose high in the esteem of the emperor and was declared to be a real Lama. He resided in China for nine years. The emperor occasionally used to call him to his presence. The *L*chan *s*kya, who presided at the head of Labrang (church), commanded that all

the Tibetan books on Buddhism extant in China should be revised by Sumpa, which he did to the great satisfaction of all. He therefore gave him the clerical title of Ertené (precious) Paṇḍita. He presented him with a diploma inscribed on a yellow scarf. Once on every month the emperor used to give him audience and converse with him on religious matters for several hours. He resided for five years in Peking, during which time he enjoyed the esteem and the veneration of the Manchu and the Mongol residents and the pilgrims of Peking. At the time of his return to Amdo, which he performed viâ Dolonor and Khar *s*ñonpo he received considerable presents from the emperor, *L*chañ-*s*kya and the great Wangs (chiefs) of China and Mongolia. At Rivo-*r*tse *l*ña (Woo-thai) he stayed one year in order to perform religious worship in the great sanctuary of Manju Ghosha. In his northward journey he visited Alaksha, receiving immense presents from the Mongols, whence he proceeded to *D*gon-luñ. Being indifferent to worldly comforts, he did not like much ostentation, and consequently kept few retainers and servants. In the 43rd year of his age he was appointed to the headship of *D*gon-luñ monastery. Out of the immense wealth he had acquired in China and Mongolia he used to send large presents to the Panchhen and Dalai Lamas, to the great monasteries of Sera, *H*bras-spuñ, *Dgah ldan*, *B*kra śis lhunpo, &c. He also set up innumerable Buddhist images, inscriptions and *chhortens* &c. His works are voluminous and many. Being dissatisfied with the existing works on astronomy, astrology and chronology of Tibet, he wrote a dissertation on them after collating 20 works by different authors. He found the works of *M*khas-grub *r*je and Bu-stoñ to be more correct than others. He died at the age of 73. The following are his principal works:

Kun-*g*sal meloñ (on arithmetic, astronomy and astrology) a large volume written in very small characters.

*B*du*d r*tsi thig-pa (drops of nectar) on medicine.

Lag-len (practice) of medicine, &c.

S'*el-d*kar meloñ (crystal mirror) on diagnosis.

*G*so-*d*pya*d*.

*S*ku-gsruñ thug-*r*tan *d*kyil thig tsha*d* (structure, proportion and form of images, diagrams, symbols, &c.).

*S*gra, *S*ñan-ñag and sslos gar (rhetoric and poetry and drama).

*R*gya-Bo*d* and Hor Chhos *h*byuñ (*L*jon-*b*ssañ), *i. e.* the history of Buddhism (rise and progress of Buddhism) in India, China and Tibet. This work was completed in the year 1747 A. D., and also contains the "Re*h*umig (chronological table).

A work on Buddhist charms to enable men to work miracles.

Hdsamgliñ *S*pyi *b*śa*d* (general account of the world) on the geography of the world.

A work on Yoga.
A work on fortune telling and divination.
A work on meditation.

REHUMIG.*

(Translation.)

CYCLE†—I

A. D. 1026.

The twelfth *Kulika* emperor, called Súrya, ascended the throne of Sambhala. *D*ge *bśes* Potova Rinchhen *g*sal was born. Gyi-jo Lo-cháva translated the *Kála-chakra* system of astronomy for introducing it into Tibet. The year of the Buddha's Nirváṇa being fixed in the year called *Fire-hare*, this year (1026) was the 361st year of the period of *Adhi-dṛishṭi*. According to the calculation of those who place the Buddha's death in the year *Iron-dragon*, this was the 408th year of *Adhi-dṛishṭi*. A. D.

According to some writers the work, called Dus-*h*khor *h*grel-chhen, was translated in Tibet by Gyi-jo Lochàva in the year 1026

Se-*s*ton Kun-rig*s*, the spiritual teacher of Ma-chig Sha-ma *l*cham Sriñ and pupil of *h*Brog-mi Lo-cháva, was born. 1027

Phu chhuñ-va *g*shon-*r*gyan was born. 1028

Rinchhen *s*ñiñ-po of *S*tod luñ, the pupil of *S*pyan-*s*ña-va was born. 1030

*S*pyan *S*ña-tshul khrim*s* *h*bar was born. 1031

*H*khon *D*kon-*m*chhog *r*gyal-po of *S*a-*s*kya was born. 1032

La-chhen (*b*Lama Chhenpo) *D*Goñ*g*s-pa rab *g*sal proceeded to the mansion of purity (died). 1033

Rñog Chho*s*-*r*Dorje, the disciple of Marpa, was born. 1034

Jovo *r*je *D*pa*l* *l*dan Atíśa arrived at *M*Ña*h* *rig*s. 1035

*R*je-*b*tsun Milara*s*-pa was born. Bari Lo-cháva Rinchhen-grag*s* was born. The Shalu monastery was founded. Náro Pan-chhen died. 1038

Ye-śe*s* *h*bar of *S*ne*h*u ssur, the eldest son of *D*gonpa-pa was born. *M*ñar *s*gom *b*rtson *h*grus hbar of *S*myug rum, who was the pupil of *S*pyan *s*na-pa, was born. Atíśa visited great Tibet (according to some) in the 61st year of his age. 1039

1041

* The italics in the proper nouns are not pronounced.

† The Vṛihaspati Cycle of 60 years was introduced into Tibet by the Indian Pandit Chandra Nátha in the year 1025 A. D.

The monastery of Myu-gu luñ was founded by *H*brogmi Lo-châva. A. D. 1042

Machig Sha-ma's husband was born. *R*ma-Lo-cháva Chhos *h*bar of La-*sto*d was born. *H*Brom met Atíśa in the 41st year of his age. 1043

*H*briñ *S*ton of *R*gyal was born. Ssla-va grag*s*-pa, the son of *L*che dal *s*gañpa, was born.

Chhag-khri *m*chhog met Atíśa. 1044

*R*gya-*h*dul *h*dsin *d*wañ phyug tshul-khrim*s* *h*bar was born. Atíśa miraculously witnessed the religious service performed by Maitreya (Byams-pa) and Manjuśrí (*H*jam-*d*wyañ*s*) at *s*Ne-thañ. 1046

Mu-dra-va founded the monastery of E-*d*gon. 1048

*G*ñal chhos *h*bar was born. *H*brom made his first presents to Atíśa. 1049

Atíśa wrote his work on the Buddhist chronology. 1050

Machig Lab *s*gron of Kham-pa Luñ was born. Machig yumo became the pupil of *S*ba-*s*gom ye-byañ and others of the later *R*ñiñ-ma school. Dharma Bodhi was born. 1051

*S*diñ-po *s*nub*s* Chhos-*h*bar was born. 1052

*R*dorje Senge of *G*lañ-ri thañ (Potova's disciple) was born.

Lama *g*shen, the pupil of Roñssom Locháva Chhos-*b*ssañ, was born. 1053

Atíśa died at the age of 73.

Pá-tsha-va Locháva called Ñima Grag*s*-pa was born. *R*ma-*s*gom chhos *g*śe*s* of the Shi-bye*d* school was born. Shiñ *s*ton chhos *h*bar was born. The celebrated Machig Lab-*S*gron was born. Rinchhen *b*ssañpo the great Locháva died. 1054

Trepo *m*chhogs, the spiritual teacher and *M*khanpo of *R*ñog leg*s*, was born. 1055

Sher-ho*d* of Shañg Kama was born. The monastery of Rva *s*greñ was founded by *H*brom ston-pa. 1056

Chhag-khri-*m*chhog, one of the disciples of Atíśa, died. 1057

*R*ñog *B*lo-*l*dan śe*s*-rab was born. Dol bu śer-*r*gya-ma was born. Rog-*d*mar-shur was born. 1058

*R*ma-bya *R*na-ra-va of *r*G*y*al was born. *S*na-nam *r*dor *d*wañ of Shañ died. 1059

Machig receives spiritual instruction from A-ston. 1060

*S*khor-chhuñ of Phyag chhen school was born. Ma-chig Shama, the pupil of Se-*s*ton Kun-rig*s*, was born. So-chhuñ *D*ge-*h*dun *h*bar of the Shi-bye*d* school was born. Kun-*d*gah, the second of *t*he Shi-bye*d* school, was born. 1061

Se-*m*khar-chhuñpa (of Lam-*h*bra*s*-pa) held the monastery of *L*ñog*m*-khar-chuñ. *H*brom *s*ton died. 1063

A. D.

*Rnal-h*byor Ame held the headship of Rwa-Sgreñ. 1064

Rgy-agar Phyag-na visited the Ye-rañ monastery in Nepal. 1065

Pa*d*ma byañ-chhub of S'a-po *sgañ*, the pupil of Phu-chhuñ-pa, was born. Byañ-chhub ye*śes* of *Rgyal*-tsha was born.

*H*Jam-*Dpal* and *S*kyi khuñ-pa Hab-jo, the two disciples of the Grub thob Yumo, were born. *H*dsa*d* Dharma met Pha-dampa Sans *rgyas*. *L*che-*S*gom Nañ-pa unearthed the concealed scriptural treasures of *L*che-b tsun, the *R*ñiñ-ma Lama. 1066

Chho*s* kyi *Rgyal*-po of *H*khon-phu, the brother of Machig S'ama, was born. 1068

S'arava Yontan Gra*gs*, the disciple of Potova, was born. 1069

*H*khon founded the grand monastery of *Sa-s*kya, and *R*ñog leg*s śes* founded the monastery of *G*sañ-phu. *R*ma-Chho*s śes* met Pha-dampa. 1072

*S*gro-phu*g*-pa, the pupil of Ssur-chhuñ and disciple of *Dkah-b*shi, was born. *H*brog-mi Locháva died. S'er-gra*gs*, the *R*ñiñ-ma Lama of Ssur-chhuñ, died. 1073

*S*prul-sku Gshon-*hod* of Bya-yul, the disciple of *S*pyan-sña, was born. *S'es*-rab *Br*tson of Khu was born. *Br*tson *gyuñ* Khu-chhen died. 1074

The great religious institution of king *M*ñah *bdag rtse sde* was founded. *R*dog Locháva visited Kaśmír. 1075

Gtsañ-pa Rin-po chhe, the disciple of Bya-yul-pa, was born. Nam kha *rdorje* was born Pá-tshab *sgompa*, the disciple of Kun *dgah* of the Shi bye*d* school was born. Milara*s*pa proceeded to study under Marpa Locháva. 1076

*H*brom-*s*ton of *Rgyal* was born. *S*gro-chho*s br*tson, the pupil of *S*gom of the Shi-bye*d*-pa school, was born.

After the death of Ame*s*, *M*dso*d dg*on-pa became the abbot of Rva-*sgreñ*. 1077

*B*lo-gro*s* gra*gs* Lha-*rje sg*ampopa of Dwag-po was born. 1078

Rgya-hdul hdsin practised the ascetic vows of *vinaya* at the monastery of *Dgah*-va-*g*doñ. 1079

The foundation of the monastery of Gra-thañ was laid by Gra-pa *m*ñoñ *śes* chan (a certain monk who was possessed of foreknowledge). 1080

Potova Rinchhen *g*sal died, after discharging the functions of abbot at the religious seat of Rwa-*sgreñ* for one year or (according to some) three years. *M*dso*d dg*on-pa died. 1081

Henceforth for many years there prevailed a religious anarchy at Rv-*sgreñ*. 1082

Byaṅ chhub *d*ge-*m*dses, the pupil of *S*ne-*h*u ssur-pa, was born. Ras chhuṅ *r*dor grags, the pupil of Milaras-pa, was born at Guṅ thaṅ. Milaras-pa performed asceticism to attain sainthood. A. D. 1083

S'ami sgom-pa *S*mon lam *h*bar, the pupil of So-chhuṅ-pa, was born. 1084

CYCLE—II.

S'arava attended on Potova as his pupil. 1086

Ma Locháva Chhos-*h*bar died of poison. 1088

*D*gyer *S*gom chhenpo *G*shon-grags, the pupil of Bya-Yul, was born. *R*ñog-*m*do-sde, the spiritual son of *R*ñog Chhos-*r*dor, was born. Tshul-*h*phags-dan lapa, the Buddhist scholar, was born. Rog śes-rab *b*lama, the spiritual successor of *R*gyal-wa *r*ten-nas, was born. Gra-pa *m*ñon śes-rab chan died. 1089

*B*rtson *h*grus *h*bar, known as Bya-*h*dul-va *h*dsin-pa (the Vinayic priest of Bya), was born. 1090

Sa-chhen Kun sñiṅ, the son of Sa-skya *D*kon *r*gyal, recognised as the 9th spiritual emanation of Chanrassig, was born. The saint Pha-dampa visited Tibet. *R*ûog Lo-cháva returned to Tibet. 1091

The *G*laṅ-thaṅ monastery was founded by *G*laṅ-ri-thaṅ-pa. Milaraspa, after the completion of his ascetical propitiations (attainment of sainthood), proceeded towards Tesi &c. 1092

Ñiṅ phug-pa Chhos grags, the saint of Shaṅ who was the pupil of Byaṅ-sems Ssla *r*gyan, was born.

The *R*ñiṅ Lama, called *R*gya-nag-pa (the Chinese), was born.

Ras-chhuṅ-pa met Milaras-pa. 1093

The monastery of Lo*d*gon was founded. 1094

Tshul-khrims *d*pal, the red cap Lama, was born. 1095

*B*kra śis *r*dorje of Shaṅ *S*ton, a *R*ñiṅ-ma Lama, was born.

Marpa *C*hhos *b*lo was born. 1096

Hod sser seṅ-ge, the disciple of Bya-yul-pa, was born. Dva gs-po Chhos *g*yuṅ, the chief spiritual son of *S*gampo, was born. 1099

Ye-*r*dor of *H*chha*d* kha, the disciple of S'arava, was born.

Pha-dampa visited China. 1100

On the demise of *H*khon-*s*ton *D*kon-*m*Chhog *r*gyal-po, Bari Locháva ascended the throne of Sa-skya.

On the death of Glan-tshul byaṅ, *H*briṅ *s*ton succeeded to the headship of *R*Gyal (became abbot of *R*gyal).

*R*ñog Chhos *r*dor died. 1101

*S*tab ka-va Darma grags, the disciple of S'arava, was born.

Khyuñ tshañ Tho*d*-*d*mar-va was born. *S*to*d* luñ-pa founded the monastery of *B*tson-gro *d*Gonpa. *S*pyan sña tshu*l* *h*bar died at *S*ñug-rûm. *S*gro*l* *S*gom, the pupil of *S*gampo, was born. 1102

*S*gam-po-va received the final vows of monkhood. 1103

Potova rinchhen *g*sa*l* died. 1104

*G*tum-*s*ton *B*lo gro*s* grag*s*, the pupil of S'arava, was born. Phu-Chhûñ-va died at the monastery of Poto *d*gon. 1105

*S*teñ-pa Lo cháva who brought the Kaśmírian Pandit Alañka Deva was born. 1106

Chho*s*-señ of Phya-pa was born. After the death of *R*nog Locháva Shañ-Tshe sriñ Chho*s* kyi *b*lama held the headship of *G*sañ-phu for thirty-two years. A succession of twelve lamas occupied a period of 159 years. *S*ñug-rum-pa chhenpo died. 1108

*R*dorje *r*gya*l*-po (Phagmo-grub-pa) was born. Karma du*s* *g*sum *m*khyanpa was born. *S*gampo served Milara*s*-pa as his pupil. 1109

Kun-*s*ñiñ ascended the throne of Sa-*s*kya. The G*v*a-gor-*d*gon-pa was founded by *G*ñal Chho*s* *h*bar. 1110

At Chhu-bar Milara*s*-pa triumphed over a troop of demons.

*S*gampo performed ascetic propitiations at *Hol* kha. *G*ña*l* Chho*s* *h*bar died. 1111

The final visit of Pha-dampa to Tibet. The incarnations of La*s* chhen Kun-*r*gya*l*, &c., founded monasteries in Bya-yu*l*. 1112

Khyuñ tshañ ye*ś*e*s* *b*lama, the disciple of Ra*s* chhuñ, was born. Jo-tshu*l* S'e*s*, the spiritual son of *R*ñog *m*do-*s*de, was born. Kham luñpa Chhenpo, the pupil of *H*grom, died. 1114

*S*gompa tshu*l* Khrim*s* of Dvag-po was born. *R*gya*l*-va ye-grag*s* *d*mar-va was born. *S*to*d* Luñpa Chhenpo died. Se-*s*ton Kun rig*s* died. 1116

*H*Chhu*s* dar *b*rtson, the disciple of *S*gro (of the Shi bye*d* school), was born. Some of the *G*ter-*s*ton of the *S*ñiñ ma sect discovered hidden books. Pha dampa died. 1117

Ma Khro-phu *R*gya*l*-tsha, the disciple of Paṇchhen S'ákya śrí, *R*ñog-*m*do-*s*de and Phag-gru, &c., was born. Ye*ś*e*s* *h*bar of *S*ne*h*u Ssur died. 1118

*D*gyer *s*gom founded the monastery of *R*gya-ma Rin-chhen *s*gañ-*r*ñiñ.

*H*briñ-*s*ton died. *S*kam ye-*r*gyan of the *S*hi-bye*d* school died. 1119

Thog-me*d* grag*s*, the spiritual son of *R*ñog *m*do-*s*de, was born. *R*ma *R*na-ra-va became the abbot of *R*gya*l*. The age of Samádhi commenced. 1120

Chhos *r*gyan of Se-sky*il*bu, the disciple of *H*chhad ká, was born.

The monastery of *S*gampoi *d*gonpa was founded by Dvags po Lha-*r*Je. 1120

Thogs med *H*od of *R*ñog was born. *B*rtson-grags of Shañ was born. When Skor-chhuñ died, his body received animation. The resurrection was due to the Indian saint Nirupa having entered it in a miraculous manner. 1121

Ssla-ho*d*, the spiritual son of *H*khon-phu-pa, was born. *G*yubrag pa was born. *G*shon-b*r*tson of *G*lañ-luñ, the pupil of Bya-yu*l* Locháva, was born. *R*je Milaras chhen died.

*R*do-rje señge of *G*lañ thañ died. 1122

Jo *H*bum, the father of *R*ta-ston Jo-ye and Jo-*b*so*d* of the *R*ñiñ-ma school, was born The later Kun-*d*ga*h* of the Shi-bye*d* school died. 1123

Karma dus *m*khyen was admited into the order of monkhood by Tre-po *m*chhog *b*lama. Achârya Abhayakara died. 1142

Mal Kapa chan, the disciple of S'ama, was born. *L*cheston yon-tan *g*ssuñs of Se-brag was born. 1125

The Kaśmírian Pandit S'ákya S'rí was born.

*H*jig-*r*ten Grags-pa *R*gya-va *r*ten, who became the disciple of Pá-tshab *s*gom-pa of the Shi-bye*d* school, was born. *Hod h*jo *g*shon-nu yontan was born.

The 13th Rigs-*l*dan (Kulika), called *S*na-tshogs *g*ssugs (Viśva-rúpa), ascended the throne of S'ambhala. 1126

*D*ge-*b*śes *g*lan of *R*gya*l* was born. Pa*d*ma-*r*dorje Ras-pa (he with locks) of the *H*brug-pa school, was born.

Karma dus *m*khyen visited *D*vus. So-chhuñ *d*ge *h*bar died. 1127

*S*bal-te *D*gra *b*chom-pa, the saint of Balti, was born. Jo *hod g*chuñ, also called *R*ñog jo va-soñ, was born. *R*ma Narava died. 1128

S'es rab Byañ-chhub, also called Dvags po *S*gom-Chhuñ, of Dvags-po was born.

*R*gya*l* tsha Byañ yeśes became abbot of *R*gya*l g*dansa. *S*nubs chhos *h*bar died. 1129

Karmapa S'es-rab *hod* of Shañ died. *R*gya-*h*du*l h*dsin-pa died. S'a-vo-*s*gañ-pa died. S'es rab *r*gyam of Do*l* died. 1130

The red cap Lama Tshu*l* khrims *h*bar died. 1131

Nam-*m*kha*h hod* of the red cap school, who was the re-embodiment of Shva *r*mar Tshu*l d*pal, was born.

Dus *m*khyen received the final vows of monkhood from Mal *h*du*l h*dsin. 1132

*S*gampo *h*dul *h*dsin was born. *S*gro-phugpa died. 1133

*M*ña*h* *b*dag Ñañral, king of Tibet (recognised as the 11th incarnation of Chanrassig), was born. 1134

Hod sser Señge founded the monastery of Khrom Kam *d*gonpa at Khrom *G*sher. 1136

Sañs *r*gyas *d*pon-pa, the younger brother of *R*gyama *d*gyer *s*gom, was born. Shon-*h*byuñ was born. Rog *b*kra grags, the spiritual son of Rog S'es-rab *b*lama, was born. *G*shon-*hod* of Bya-yul died. 1137

Dus *M*khyen visited *S*gampo at Dvagpo. Khyuñ-po died. *R*gyal-tshab Byañ ye*s*es died. 1138

*H*brom *s*ton of *R*gyal became abbot of *R*gyal *g*dansa. 1139

S'arava yontan grags died. 1140

*B*so*d* nams *r*tse-mo, the spiritual son of Sa-*s*kya Kun-sñiñ, was born.

*B*kraśis *d*pal of Thañ-pa chhenpo in *S*tag-luñ was born. 1141

*H*jig-*r*ten *g*sum *m*gon Rin *b*ssañ the governor of Hbri-goñ, was born. After the death of *H*brom-*s*ton of *R*gyal, the abbotship of *G*dansa remained vacant for nine years. *A*r spent his summer recess at *G*dansa. Khu-śer *b*rtson died. 1142

*D*gyer *s*gom tshul señ, the disciple of Mal Ka-va chan and Phag-gru, was born.

*G*sañ *s*ton spyipa cha*s*pa, one of the Pan chhen of Sa-*s*kya, was born. 1143

*H*khonphu-pa, the brother of Ma chig S'ama, died. 1144

*R*ñog jo *b*so*d* died.

*R*gyal Chharmo, the spiritual son of *R*ñog thog me*d*, was born. *R*ñogjo *Hod* died. 1145

CYCLE III.

*R*je-*b*tsun Grag*s*-pa *r*gya*l*-*m*tshan, the spiritual son of Sa-chhen, was born. 1146

Kun-*l*dan Ra*s* Chhuñ, the younger brother of Khro-phu *r*gyal-tsha, was born.

*R*ñiñ-ma *R*gya-nag-pa, the disciple of *S*gro-phug *R*ñiñ-ma Lama, died. 1147

Shig-pa *b*du*d* *r*tsi, the disciple of *R*ñiñ ma Se-brag, was born. Machig S'ama died. 1148

Rog S'es-rab *b*lama, the religious and ministerial successor of *R*gya*l*-va-*r*ten-na, was born.

Dvagpo *s*gom-tshu*l* held the abbotship of *S*gampo. *D*pal-chhen *Hod*po chhe, the son of Sa-chhen, was born. 1149

Phagmo grub-pa interviewed *R*je-*S*gampo-va. 1150

*R*dor-señ, the younger brother of *R*ñog Chharmo, was born. *S*gro chhos *b*rtson died. 1151

Chhag Locháva, also called *D*gra-*b*chom *R*te*h*u rava, the disciple of *S*teñ-pa Locháva, was born.

Gro-*b*du*d*-*r*tsi grag*s* of *S*narthañ was born. *G*tum-*s*ton founded the monastery of *s*Nar thañ. Dag-pa *ś*e*s* tsu*l* Phag*s*-paof Ñan lam became abbot of *R*gya*l* *g*dansa.

Dvag*s*po *S*gampo-va died. 1152

*R*dorje tshu*l* khrims of *H*bri goñ was born. Dvag*s*-po *S*gom-tshu*l* founded the monastery of *M*tshur-lha luñ at *S*to*d*-luñ. 1153

Du*s* *m*khan pa founded the *Karmapa* monastery of *G*shu *m*tshur Lha luñ at *G*shu*h*i gru *b*shi Lha luñ. 1154

Thog*s* me*d* grag*s* of *R*ñog died. 1155

Kun *d*ga*h* *r*dorje, the spiritual son of *R*ñog jo-tshu*l*, was born. 1156

*D*vañ-phyug byañ rin of Lha luñ, who was the disciple of Se-*spyi*l-pa, was born. *B*ssañ mo, the spiritual son of *S*añ*s* *r*gya*s* *d*pon *s*ton, was born.

Ñiñ *h*bum, the son of *R*ñiñ-ma shañ-*s*ton, was born. Pá-tshab *s*gompa died. Sa-chhen Kun-*s*ñiñ died. *R*ñog jo-tshu*l* died. Phag gru-pa founded the monastery of *G*dansa *m*thi*l*. 1157

*B*so*d* nam*s* *r*tse mo became the grand hierarch of Sa-*s*kya. *D*ge-*b*śe*s* Ñanlampa died. Dus *m*kyen founded the monastery of *M*tshur-phu. 1158

San*s*-*r*gya*s* *s*gompa *r*dor *g*shon of Bya-yu*l* was born. *D*ge-*b*śe*s* *l*chañ rib was born.

*R*ma Locháva and Yañ *d*nenpa, the immanations of Machig S'ama, were born. 1159

Ye*ś*e*s* *r*dorje (also called *g*tsañ-pa *R*gya ra*s* pa), the disciple of *H*brug-pa *g*liñ ra*s*pa, was born. *G*tsañ rinpochhe Nam *r*dorje died. Ra*s*-chhuñpa died. 1160

Chhiñgis Khán, the conqueror, who turned the wheel of might, was born.

*S*kor Nirúpa tava died. 1161

*R*ta *s*ton jo ye*ś*e*s*, the *R*ñiñ ma Lama, was born. 1162

*G*ño*s* *R*gya*l*-va lha nañva *S*añ*s* rin, the disciple of *S*kyob-pa, was born.

Du*s* *m*khyen founded the monastery of lower Kam-po *g*na*s* nañ. The monastery of Hchha*d*-ka *g*sarma was founded by *Se*-*s*kyi*l*-pa. Khyuñ-tshañ Tho*d* *d*mar became abbot of *R*gya*l*-gdansa. Hab jo Sra*s*, the disciple of Yumo, died. 1163

Bya-*h*chhañ-kha-pa founded the monastery of Malgro Bya-*h*chhañ kha. The two *G*liñras-pa of *S*tagluñ interviewed Phag-gru.

*S*er-*hod*, the son of Rog *b*kra-grags, was born. 1164

*G*tum-*s*ton died at Chhos-luñ. *R*dor-*s*ton. *S*er grags became abbot of *S*Narthañ.

*R*ñog *m*do-sde died. *S*er ho*d*, the spiritual son of Rog-*b*kra Grags, was born. 1165

*M*ñah*r*i *d*ge-*m*dsas died. Shañ *s*ton *b*kra *r*dor, the *R*ñiñ-ma lama, died. The abbot of *H*bri-goñ became the disciple of Phag-gru. 1166

Jo-*b*so*d* of *D*vus, who was the younger brother of *R*ta-*s*ton-jo-ye (*R*ñiñ-ma Lama), was born.

*H*dse*d* Dharmabodhi died. 1167

*G*yam *b*ssañ Chhos *s*mon lam, the disciple of Ssva-ra-va *S*kal-ye, the son of Phag-gru, was born.

The Kashmírian Pandit *S*'akya *S*'rí took the final vows of monkhood. The monastery of *H*do*d* spañ phug was founded by Dus-mkhyen. The monastery of Skyor luñ was founded by Spal-te. Dvags*p*o *s*gom-tshul died, after which the abbotship remained vacant for two years. Phyá-pa Chhos señ died. 1168

*B*so*d* *r*dor of *S*bom-brag, the disciple of Karma sañs *r*gyas Ras-chhen, was born.

*R*gyal died at Phag-gru, and the abbotship of *S*dan-sa remained vacant for six years.

Khrom *gś*er died at Kam kam. 1169

Rin-chhen *S*'esrab, the younger brother of Rog *S*'erab ho*d*, was born.

S'ami *s*mon lam *h*bar died. 1170

Grags *r*gyan-pa ascended the throne of the Sa-*s*kya hierarchy. *S*er byañ was appointed to the abbotship left vacant by *S*gampo. 1171

Khro-phu Lo-cháva Tshul-śes byams *d*pal, who was a nephew of the Khro-phu *R*gyal tsha brothers, was born. Rog S'esrab lama died. 1172

Darma grags pa of *S*tabs-ka died. Jo-*h*bum, the *R*ñiñma lama, died. 1173

Rinchhen *Hod*, the disciple of Phag-gru, was born. The monastery of Tshal was founded. Bya-*h*chha*d* kapa died. 1174

Chhos *r*je *S*gañ-pa was born. Khyuñ tshañ yes'es Lama died. 1175

*D*Pon ras dar señ of the middle Hbrug school was born. The *S*kyob-pa (hierarch) of *H*bri-goñ received the final vows of

monkhood. Shañ Lo-cháva grub-*d*pal died. Dvags-po Chhos *g*yuñ died. 1176

Sans *r*gyas *s*gompa of *S*narthañ was born. Ye-grags *d*mar became the abbot of *R*gyal-*g*dan sa. 1178

*G*shon *r*dor of *M*gar dampa Chhos *s*diñ, the disciple of Sky-ob-pa, was born. *H*bom *d*gon *S*esrab *d*pal, the disciple of *S*tag luñ-pa, was born. The monastery of *S*tag luñ *d*gon was founded by Lama *S*tag luñ-thañ-pa. 1179

Sa-*s*kya Panchhen, the son of *D*pal-*hod* sros, was born. *B*sod *r*gyan of Ko-brag was born.

The monastery of *R*gyama Rin *s*gañ was rebuilt by Sans *r*gyas *d*von-*s*ton. 1180

*R*sod nams *r*tshe of Sa-*s*kya died. Lha-*b*tsun ssla *Hod* of *H*khon-phu died.

*R*ñog Chharmo died. 1181

Ssañs tsha *b*sod *r*gyan, the younger brother of Sa-*s*kya Panchhen Kun *d*gah *r*gyal-*m*tshan, was born. 1183

The monastery of Karma lha *s*deñ was founded by Dus *m*khyen-pa.

*R*do *s*ton śer grags died at *S*narthañ and was succeeded by Shañ *b*tsum *r*dor *hod* who was born in the year *iron-horse*. 1184

The venerable Hgro-va*hi* *m*gonpo *d*vañ phyug *Hod* Lha-luñ *d*pon sras was born.

Grags *r*gyal, of Kharagpa, who was the spiritual son of *R*god-tshañ the *H*brug-pa Lama and disciple of Bhuriba, was born. Ñiñ phug-pa died. Rog *B*kra śis grags died. 1185

*D*von S'er *h*byuñ, the disciple of *S*kyob-pa, was born. *B*loras *d*vañ *b*rtsoñ of lower *H*brug, who was the disciple of Glsañ *r*gyara, was born. The monastery of Tshal guñ thañ was founded by Lama Shañ *b*rtson grags. The image Lhachhen was constructed. *R*gyal-va yeśes died at Grags *d*mar. 1186

*H*brug-pa *g*liñ ras pa Padma-*d*orje was born. 1187

*B*sam *g*liñ-pa, the disciple of Gañ-ba and spiritual son of Karma dus *m*khyen, was born.

*R*gos tshañ *m*gon-po *r*dorje of upper *H*brug, who became the disciple of *R*gya ras, was born.

*D*ge-*b*śes Glan *r*gyal became the head of *G*dan-sa (chief seat of the hierarchy).

The monastery of *M*tshur-phu was founded by Dus *m*khyen-pa.

Hor Chhiñ-gis became king of the Mongols. Se-*spyi*l len-pa died. 1188

The king of upper Mo-*r*tse *R*gyal-po presented the Lord Buddha's image with a golden crown.

*H*chhad-ka monastery was governed by Lhaluṅ *d*vaṅ phyug of Se-spyil.

King Chhiṅgis conquered Man-churia. *S*teṅ-ba Lo-cháva (Tshul-khrim *h*hyuṅ *g*nas) died. 1189

Ssím rinpochhe of Bya-yul (Sans-*r*gyas *S*ton-pa grags) was born. Rin *m*gon *s*ku yal-va of *S*tag luṅ *d*von kar was born.

*G*lan died and was succeeded by *D*ge-*b*śes dri-*h*dul at *R*gyal *G*dansa. 1190

King Chhiṅ-gis conquered Solon country. *M*chhus dar *b*rtson died. 1191

*S*kysa-*s*ton byaṅ rin pochhe held the abbotship of *R*gyab-*g*dansa. Lama shaṅ died at Guṅ thaṅ. Karma Dus *g*sum *m*khyen-pa died. *G*shon-un *b*rtson *h*grus of *G*laṅ-luṅ died. Dvus-pa died. 1192

Henceforth Chhiṅ gis became emperor of China. *S*nas-thaṅ Shaṅ *b*tsun-died and was succeeded by Groms chhe-be who was born in the year *water-bird*. 1193

Bya-*s*kyuṅ-pa (*m*do-*s*de *m*gon of Phorog), who was kobrag-paś disciple, was born. Khro-Lo-cháva visited Nepal. Chhiṅ gis conquered Tartary. Khro-phu *r*gya*l*-tsha died. Yon-tan *g*ssaṅs (*R*ñiṅma Lama) died. 1194

Jo *h*bar, the son of Ñima-*h*bum (*R*ñiṅ-ma Lama), was born. Chiṅgis subdued the Danmag. 1195

The latter Chhos *r*je *d*pal Chhag was born. 1196

*S*kyob-pa and *S*tag liṅ-ba built temples at Phag-gru. Khro Lo-cháva invited Mitrapa to Tibet who after a staying there for 18 months returned to India. Chhiṅ-gis conquered Kheraṅ. Jo*bs*o*d* (*R*ñiṅ-ma Lama) died. 1197

Dvag*s*-po grol-*s*gom died. Shva-*d*mar nam *hod* died. *R*ñiṅ-ma-pa Shig-po died. 1198

*S*gam-po *s*ṅi *s*gam-chhen-po was born. *B*kra-Grag*s*, the re-embodiment of the red-cap Lama called Nam-*hod* who was a disciple of Dus *m*khyen, was born. *G*shon-seṅ of the middle *H*brug-pa school was born. Khro-Lo-cháva brought Buddha Śrí to Tibet. Chhiṅ-gis subjugated Na*h*imanpa Ta-ge. 1199

*D*ge-*b*śhes *l*chaṅ-ri held the abbotship of *R*gya*l* *g*dan-sa. Sans *r*gyas *s*gom-pa protected the Lo-cháva of Bya yul. *G*ssi *br*jid Grags, the spiritual son of *R*ñog kun *r*dor was born. 1200

*S*pyan *s*ṅa Rinchhen *L*dan, the disciple of Ko-brag-pa and Yuṅ *d*gonpa, was born. Chhiṅ-gis conquered the whole of *H*or. 1201

*Rg*va Lo-cháva (*R*nam *r*gyal *R*dorje) of Roñ was born. Phag-gru Thog-*r*dug pa was born. Sans *r*gyas yar byon S'es rab *b*lama of *S*tag luñ was born.

Sans *r*gyas *ras* pa Rinchhen *s*monlam, the disciple of Shibye*d* pa Rog shig-po, was born.

Sa-*s*kya *d*pal-chhen *Hod* died. 1202

Karma Bakshi Chhos *h*dsin, the disciple of *S*bom-brag-pa and pupil of Karma Ras chhen, was born. Khro Lo-cháva brought the Kashmírian Pandit S'akya S'rí to Tibet.

Chhiñ-gís subjugated Harilig. *D*gyer-tshul Señ died. 1203

*Rg*yal-po *d*gah, the younger brother of *R*ñog *G*ssi-brji*d*, was born. The monastery of *B*de-va-chan at *S*ñe-thañ was founded by *Rg*ya-*h*chhiñ rupa, the disciple of *G*ñal shañ.

His nephews, Sañs *r*gyas *d*pal and others, managed the monastery after his death. 1204

The monastery of *G*yam *b*ssañ *d*gon-pa was founded by Chhos *S*mon lam of *G*yam *b*ssañ. 1205

Chhiñgis visited Tibet and subjugated all its provinces with the exception of Mi-ñag.

CYCLE IV.

Ssvara-yeseñ, the pupil of Phag-gru, died. 1206

*S*pyan-*s*na grag*s* *h*byuñ became the abbot of Phag-gru *G*dansa which dignity he held for twenty-seven years. Saskya Paṇḍita received the final vows of monkhood from S'akya S'rí Paṇḍita. 1207

*D*von *d*karva occupied the abbotship vacated in consequence of the death of *S*tag luñ thañ-pa. *Rg*ya-ma Sans *r*gyas *d*von *s*ton died. 1209

Tilla *r*dor grag*s*, the younger brother of *H*bri-goñ-pa, was born.

*D*von-po Dar señ became abbot of *H*brug Raluñ after the death of *G*tsañ-pa *r*gya-ras. Mal-ka-pa-chan died. 1210

Hguru Chhos *d*vañ, a *R*ñiñ-ma *g*ter-*s*ton was born. Khro-Locháva constructed a gigantic image of Maitreya, eighty cubits high, which he also consecrated. 1211

*Rg*yalva, the eldest spiritual son of *H*brug-pa *Rg*od-tshañ-pa, Yañ *d*gon-pa and *Rg*yal-*m*tshan *d*pal were born.

The Kashmírian Paṇḍita S'akya S'rí returned to Kashmír. The monastery of *G*lañthañ Chhos-*s*de was founded. 1212

*G*shon-nu yon-tan of *Hod* jo-va died. *R*ñiñma Ñima *h*bum died.

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The pupil of *H*jam-*g*ser called Chhos *S*ku-*h*od sser, who became the disciple of Semo-chhe the professor of *D*us *h*khor, was born. 1213

Khublai (emperor Se-chhen) Khán of Hor was born.

*S*Pa*l*-te *D*gra-*b*chom died. 1214

Shva-*d*mar-tshul *d*pal, the disciple of Karma Bakshí, was born. *S*ñe-*m*do thams cha*d* *m*khyen-pa, the eldest son of *S*marseṅge, was born. Chhag *d*gra-*b*chom died.

Grag*s* *r*gyan of Sa-*s*ky died. 1215

*R*dorje tshul-khrims became the heirarch of *H*bri-goṅ. *S*kyob-pa *H*jig-*r*ten *m*gon-po died.

Khro-phu kun-*l*dan-ra*s*-pa died. Yaṅ-*d*ven-pa died. *R*gyal-va *R*ten na*s*-pa died. 1216

Rin-chhen *r*dorje his younger brother, who was the 12th (in succession), was born.

*D*ge-*b*śe*s* *l*chaṅ riba died. *S*gampo *h*du*l* *h*dsin-pa died. 1217

Glaṅ *s*ton śe*s*rab Seṅ became abbot of *R*gya*l*-*g*dan sa.

*R*ṅog *r*dorseṅ died. 1218

*R*dorje tshul Khrim*s* of *H*bri-goṅ died. 1220

*D*von *S*e*s*rab byuṅ became hierarch of *H*bri-goṅ'. Buddhism was first introduced in Hor (Mongolia). Chhiṅ-gis annexed Sar-tha-gva-chhen. 1221

*R*dorje ye*s*e*s* (Chho*s* go-ba of *H*bri-guṅ) was born. *H*khru*l* Shig Darma seṅge, the disciple of Rog-*m*chha*d* *g*sun, was born. 1122

*D*von *d*kar commenced building the grand hall of worship at *S*tag luṅ.

*G*ṅo*s* Lha naṅ-va died. 1223

*B*de-leg*s* *r*gya*l*-*m*tshan of Neraṅ, who became the pupil of O*r*gyan Rinchhen *d*pal, was born. Shaṅ *s*ton *h*tshem-pa became abbot of *R*gya*l*-va *g*dansa.

The monastery of *D*ge-*h*dun *s*gaṅ was founded by the two disciples of S'akya S'rí Paṇḍita named Byaṅ and *R*dor. They also founded the monastery of *S*ñemo tshag-mig.

S'ákya seṅge founded the monastery of N̂amriṅ in Byaṅ (north) after which he died. S'ákya S'rí died in Kashmír. 1224

Rin Seṅ of Thog-kha of *H*brigoṅ was born. The fourteenth Kulika ascended the throne of S'ambhala. Chhiṅ-gis subjugated Miṅag in Tibet, after which he died. 1225

Ogoti, the son of Chhiṅgis, who was born in the year *fire-sheep*, assumed the sceptre of the Mongol-China kingdom. 1226

*S*gampo *S*ñepa jo sra*s* was born. Sa*s* *r*gya*s* *s*gom-pa died. 1227

Orgyan Seṅge rinchhen *d*pal, the pupil of *R*god tshaṅ-pa of *S*tod *H*brug, was born.

*R*ta-*s*ton jo-ye, the *R*ñiṅ-ma Lama, died. 1228

*B*kraśis *b*lama of *S*tag luṅ was born. Jo-*h*bed, the *R*ñiṅma Lama, died. 1229

Rin-seṅ of Kham luṅ in Bya-yul was born Sans *r*gya jo-*v*o *d*vaṅ phyug *g*shon-nu of Bya-yul was born. Gromo-chhe of *SN*ar thaṅ died. Lha-luṅ *d*vaṅ phyug died. 1230

Chhos *s*mon lam of *G*yam-*b*ssaṅ died. Rog S'esrab *b*lama was born.

Ogoti died. Guru Chhos *d*vaṅ recovered concealed religious books from the rock of *G*nam-*s*kas brag. 1231

S'aṅs *s*ton tshul *m*gon of the S'aṅs-pa school was born. S'er-*h*byuṅ died at *H*brigoṅ. Gotan, who was born in the *fire-tiger* year, ascended the throne of Hor. *R*ñog kun-*r*dor and *R*togs *l*dan *b*ssaṅ died. 1232

Phags-pa, the son of Sa-*s*kya Ssaṅs-tsha, was born. Seṅge-*s*gra, the son of *R*ñog *r*gyal-*d*gah, was born. 1233

*D*von *d*kar *s*kuyal*m*a of *S*tag luṅ died. *S*gam-po *S*ñi *s*gom-chhen died. 1234

Dar Seṅ, the disciple of *R*gya ras of *G*tsaṅ, died at *H*brug ra luṅ. *G*shon-saṅ succeeded him. 1235

Rin-*r*gyan and Ye-*h*byuṅ, the sons of Ssaṅs tsha of *S*a-*s*kya, were born. 1236

Phyagna *r*dorje, the younger brother of *H*phags-pa of Sa-*s*kya, was born.

Ssaṅs tsha *B*sod *r*gyan of Saskya died. 1237

Grags-pa yeśe's of Phag-gru was born. Grags *b*sod (*H*tsham *b*chad-pa) of *H*bri guṅ was born. The Mongol chief Chhigya dorta, with his troops overrun *D*vu (U) and *G*tsaṅ, and killed So-*s*ton and five hundred monks of Sa-*s*kya, after which he burnt Rva-*s*greṅ and *R*gyal-khaṅ monasteries. 1238

Chhos kyi *b*lama died at *S*narthaṅ. *D*von-S'er-*h*byuṅ died. 1239

Rin *b*ssaṅ, the younger brother of *R*ñog Seṅ ge *s*gra, was born. Meloṅ *R*dorje, the pupil of *R*ñiṅma jo *h*bad and disciple of Seṅ-ge *r*gyab-pa, was born. Jonaṅ kun-*s*paṅ Thugs *b*rtson-*h*grus *r*je, the pupil of Chhos *s*ku *h*od sser, was born. 1241

*H*phags-pa and Phyagna, the two nephews of Sa-*s*kya Paṇḍita, proceeded to Mongolia. Rog-śer ho*d* died. *H*bom *d*gon-pa of *S*tag luṅ died. 1242

Rog-shigpo Rin-chhen S'esrab died. 1243

Chhos kyi rdorje, the younger brother of Rñog Rin-chhen bssañ-po, was born.

Sa-skya Paṇḍita arrived at Lan-ju (Lan-chau). 1244

Sa-śkya Paṇḍita interviewed the Mongol king Gotan. Sñe-mdo smar señ died. 1245

Sa-skya Paṇḍita's saintly powers were tested. Having found him to be a sage and saint, the king imbibed faith in him. 1246

King Gotan sent a proclamation to Tibet making a present of the provinces of U and Tsañ to the Sa-skya hierarch. Gya-pa gañs-pa, the disciple of Dus-mkhyen, died. Sbom-grags-pa died. 1247

Grags rin ñis mchhod-pa of Phag-gru was born. Se-Spyil Kha-va yeśes of Lhobrag was born.

Shañ dkon dpal was born. Lo-cháva Ras died at the capital of the Hbrug-pa hierarchy. Sans-Sgom of Sñas thañ died. 1248

Sans rgyas dvon grags dpal of Stag luñ was born. Ses-rab Señ-ge of Roñ, the spiritual son of Rgva Lo-cháva, was born. Ñima señge of middle Hbrug was born. 1249

MChhim nam grags became abbot of Snarthañ. Sa-skya Paṇḍiṭa died at Sprul-sde in Mongolia. King Gotan died. 1249

Muñ-khe, who was born in the year *fire-hare*, ascended the throne of Mongol-China. The Mongolian army suppressed Mon mkhar mgonpo gdoñ in Tibet. 1250

HPhags-pa of Sa-skya became prince Khublai's spiritual guide. The Saskya-pa hierarch took possession of the thirteen provinces of Tibet, called Khri-skor bchu-gsum. 1251

The Mongolian king went at the head of an army to Gara ljañ yul and returned to his capital in the following year. 1252

Grags señ of Mun-mebrag kha-wa, the pupil of Jonañ kun spañ, was born. 1253

Spyan sna grags hbyuñ died. 1254

Bakshi became the spiritual guide of the Mongol king Muñ-khe. Ssem grags señ of Bya-yul died. Guru Chhos dvañ unearthed the six Rñiñ ma scriptures. 1255

Sans-rgyas dpal bssañ (Stag luñ dvon-po) was born. Phorog mdo-sde died. 1256

Señge rinchhen of Spahi-skya and of the middle Hbrug-pa school was born.

Kun dgah bssañ-po of Sñe-mdo, an incarnation of Rgod-tshañs-pa, was born.

Rgyal-va yañ dgonpa, the son of Thams chas mkhyenpa, died. Rgod tshañ mgon rdor of Stod Hbrug died. 1257

*B*de-legs *r*gyal *m*tshan founded the monastery of Ssañ ssañ nerañ. Lha *h*gro *m*gon *d*vañ phyug died.

Muñ-khe, the Mongol king, died. 1258

Yon *r*gyam, the pupil of Jonañ kun *s*pañ, was born. Karma *B*sam-*g*liñ Rinchhen died. 1259

*R*gyal *m*tshan *h*bum of *H*jag, who became a leader of the Sañspa school, was born.

Karma Bakshí, during the years *fire-serpent*, *iron-monkey* and *iron-bird*, made miraculous religious demonstrations. *B*sod *r*gyan of Go-brag died. 1260

*B*dag-chhen *b*ssañpo *d*pal, the son of Sa-*s*kya Ye-*h*byuñ, was born.

*S*akya *b*ssañpo, well-known by his other name *S*tag luñ Lo-cháva, was born. 1261

Ssur-phu-va, the pupil of *S*pyan-*s*na rin *l*dan, was born.

The great shrine of *M*tshur-phu was built by Bakshí Ñe *l*dan *s*gom. 1262

Sans *r*gyas ston tshul Khrims Señge of Bya-yul was born. 1263

Chhag chhos *r*je *d*pal died.

H Phags-pa of Sa-*s*kya returned to Tibet from Mongolia. 1264

Kumára, the son of Meloñ *r*dorje (of the *R*ñiñma school), was born.

*G*shon-señ died at *H*brug-Raluñ. 1265

CYCLE V.

Thog *r*dug-pa died at Phag-gru. Phyagna of Sa-*s*kya died. 1266

Dharmapála Rakshita, son of Phyagna of Sa-*s*kya, was born. 1267

*H*phags-pa again returned to Hor (Mongolia). 1268

Emperor Sa-chhen (Khublai), the grand son of Chhiñ-gis was engaged in building Peking and three other cities, from the year *wood-mouse* up to this year.

Kharag grags *r*gyal of *H*brug died. 1269

*G*shon-nu *S*mon lam of Bya-yul and *S*pyi-ther pa*h*i *D*vonpor Grags-pa of Dvagpo were born. 1270

Sans *r*gyas yar-byon of *S*tag luñ died. 1271

Guru chhos *d*vañ died. 1272

The monastery of Tharpa*g*liñ was founded in the confines of Nepal and Tibet.

Ye-*h*byuñ of Sa-*s*kya died in *L*jañ-yul. 1273

S'akya *b*ssañ-po of Sa-*s*kya became the viceroy of the thirteen provinces of Tibet, called Khri-*s*kor *b*chu *g*sum. 1274

*H*jam-*d*vyañs don-*r*gyan of Sa-*s*kya and *D*vañ-bo *br*tan *B*lama of *B*sos *r*gyan were born.

Sans *r*gyas *d*von grags *d*pal of *S*tag-luñ founded the monastery of Byams rinpo-chhe. 1275

Ssur-khañ-pa *d*vañ ye of Se-*s*pyil was born. Grags-pa *b*so*d* *d*pal of the *B*ka*h*-*br*gyu*d* school was born. *S*ñe-*m*do Thams cha*d* *m*khyen-pa died. 1276

*R*dorje rinchen of *H*brigon was born. 1277

Ye*ś*e*s* *b*lama of *S*tag luñ was born. *S*gampo chho*s* *br*gyan was born.

Rinchhen *r*gya*l* *m*tshan of Sa-*s*kya died. *B*chuñ Tilli died at *H*brigcñ. 1278

Rinchhen Chho*s* *r*gya*l* of the Shi-bye*d* school, who was the grandson of *H*phru*l* shig-dar señ, was born. *H*phags-pa of Sa-*s*kya died. The twelveth *G*chuñ died.

San*s*rgyas Ras-pa of the Shi-bye*d* school died. 1279

Dharmapála became hierarch of Sa-*s*kya. Bya-rog *R*dsoñ (jong) was captured. *R*ñog Gssi-brji*d* Grags died. 1280

Bya-yul Kham*s* luñ-pa died. *R*ga-Lo-cháva of Miñagag died. *B*kra-grag*s*, the red-cap Lama, died. 1281

Chho*s* *r*gyan, the son of latter *R*ñag Chho*s* *r*dor, was born.

Shva *d*mar Grag*r* señ, the first incarnation of *B*kra-grags the red-cap Lama, was born.

*R*dor *r*gyan of Roñ, the first disciple of S'er señ, was born.

Karma Bakshí died. 1282

Sans *r*gyas *S*gompa of Bya-yul and Tshul khim*s* S'esrab were born.

The third Karma-pa hierarch Rañ byuñ *r*dorje, an incarnation of Karma Bakshí, was born.

*R*dor-*r*gya*l*, the 28th hierarch of *H*brigoñ, was born. *R*ñog *r*gya*l* po *d*ga*h* died. 1283

Lha-*b*lo ho*d* of Se-spyi*l* was born. The *H*brigoñ-pa authorities burnt Bya-yul.

Sañs *r*gyas *G*chuñ S'ton died, and the abbotship remained vacant for five years.

Thog kha-va died at *H*brigoñ. 1284

Lha brag kha-va died. 1285

*G*yuñ-ston *R*dor *d*pal, the pupil of Ssur-byam*s* señge (the *R*ñiñ-ma Lama), who was Karma Rañ byuñ's spiritual guide, was born.

Dharmapála died at Sa-*s*kya, and S'ara-va *H*jam *d*vyaṅs succeeded him in the hierarchy. Ñe-seṅ of *H*brug Raluṅ died.

Ratna guru of *S*tag luṅ was born. *H*tsham bcha*d*pa died at *H*brigoṅ. Phag-gru Grag*s*-ye died. 1287

Seṅge *r*gya*l*-po of middle *H*brug was born. *M*chhim nam*s* grag*s* of *S*narthaṅ died. 1288

Bu-*s*ton Rin-chhen grub was born. *R*ñiṅma Lama Leg*s*-*l*dan was born.

The Sa-*s*kya-pa authorities sacked *H*brigoṅ. 1289

Tshu*l*-*m*gon of Bya-yul was born. 1290

*G*ser-*g*liṅ *b*kra śis *d*pal, a follower of S'an*s*-pa, was born.

Do*l* bu S'er-*r*gyan, a disciple of Jonaṅ yon-*r*gyan, was born.

Kun-*m*khyen chho*s* sku *Hod*sser died. 1291

Grag*s* *r*gya*l* of Phag-gru, who had acquired the fourfold *R*ñiṅma perfections, was born.

Urgyan *m*gonpo śer *d*pal of *S*tag luṅ died. 1292

*M*khan-chhen Jñána Prajñá was born. Sa-chhen's (Khub-lai's) grandson Olcha*h*ithu, who was born in the year *wood-ox*, became the emperor of Mongol China. 1293

*R*gya*l*-sra*s* Thogme*d* *b*ssaṅ po *d*pal was born. The *R*ñiṅma Lama *G*yuṅ-*s*ton Ssla-va *H*jam *d*vyaṅ*s* *b*sam-*h*grub *r*dor je was born. 1294

*M*chhuim karma *k*loṅ-chhen-pa was born. *S*gam-po *S*ñi-va Jo-sra*s* died.

San*s* *r*gya*s* *d*pon-grag*s* of *S*tag-luṅ died. Emperor Khublai died. 1295

*B*kraśi*s* *b*lama died at *S*tag-luṅ. 1296

Karma *R*ñiṅ Lama *G*yuṅ-*s*ton visited Hor. 1297

Tiśri Kun-*b*lo, son of *D*pa*l* *b*ssaṅ of Sa-*s*kya, was born.

*G*yag-*s*de Panchhen (B*r*tson-*h*gru*s* Dar *r*gya*s*), the pupil of Shva-*d*mar Grag*s*-seṅ, was born. 1298

Ratnákara of *S*tag-luṅ was born. 1299

Ti*h*i situ Byaṅ *r*gyan of the Phag-gru dynasty was born. 1301

*D*vaṅ lo-cháva Byaṅ-chhub *r*tsemo, also called *B*lo-brtan *d*pon-po, was born.

The monastery of Lha-*s*teṅ was founded by Raṅ-byuṅ *r*dorje.

*H*khrul shig Darseṅ of the Shi-byed school died. The *R*ñiṅ-ma Lama Meloṅ *r*dorje died. 1302

The venerable nun Leg*s* *b*lo *r*gyan, a disciple of *B*ssaṅ *d*pal of Sa-*s*kya, was born. 1304

Jonaṅ Phyog*s* la*s* *r*nam *r*gyal, a native of *M*na*h* ris, who was the pupil of Dol-bu śer *r*gyan, was born. 1305

Emperor Olcha*h*ithu of Hor died. 1306

*K*loñ Chhenpa, the disciple of Kumára (the *R*ñiñ-ma Lama), was born. Another grandson of the emperor Sa-chhen, named Khulug who was born in the year *iron-serpent*, became emperor. 1307

The Sage S'añs *s*ton Tshul *m*gon died. 1308

The saint Orgyan pa señge died.

Tisri kun *r*gyan, the son of *B*ssañ *d*pal of Sa-*s*kya, and *H*jam-*d*vyañs don *r*gyan were born.

*R*gyal-*m*tshan *D*pal *b*ssañ of S'añs *h*ba*h*-ra, who became the disciple of Ssur-phuva, was born. *G*sar-ma Grags-śes, the twelveth Phag gru hierarch, was born. Hjag-chhen Byams *d*pal of the S'añspa school was born.

*G*ñis-*m*chho*d* died at Phag-gru. *D*pal-*b*ssañ of *S*tag-luñ died. 1309

*G*shon nu *r*gyal-*m*tshan of Ri-pa, the disciple of Ssur-phuva, was born. *R*ñog chhos *r*dor phyi ma died.

Emperor Khulug died. *B*lama Dampa *b*so*d* nams *r*gyal *m*tshan, the son of *B*ssañ *d*pal of Sa-*s*kya, was born. Sañs *r*gyas jovo of Bya-yul died. 1310

In Hor, Pauyanthu (born in the year *wood-bird*), the youngest brother of the emperor Khulug, ascended the throne. Yeśes Lama of *S*tag-luñ died in India. 1311

Sans-*r*gyas Rin-chen died at *H*brug Raluñ. Jonañ Kun spañ died. The metaphysical theory of "Luñ thig" was inculcated by Tshul *r*dor, an incarnate *R*ñiñ-ma Lama. 1312

The sage *H*jam *d*pal yeśes was born. *H*jam *d*vañs Kun dga*h* señge of middle *H*brug was born. 1313

After the death of *R*dorje Rinchhen, *R*dorje *r*gyal-po became abbot of *H*brigoñ and built the grand shrine of *H*brigoñ. S'esrab Señge of Roñ died. 1314

Kun-*d*gah *b*ssañ-po of *S*ñe-*m*do died. 1315

*D*kon-mchhog *d*pal of Shañ died. 1316

The (astrological and astronomical) work, called *R*tsi Kun *b*sdus, was composed by Rañ-byuñ-pa. 1317

*S*gampo Sañs-*r*ggas Chhos Señ was born. The sage *G*shon-nu Grub, the disciple of Sañs-*r*ggas *s*ton of S'añs, died. *R*ñog Rin-*b*ssañ died. 1318

Orgyan *m*gon-po of *S*tag-luñ erected a large shrine and furnished it with images and religious books. Emperor Pauyan-thu died. 1319

Gegen khan, the son of Pau-yanthu, who was born in the year *water-hare*, ascended the throne. 1320

*B*lo gros *R*nam dag was born in Bya-yul. Bu-ston wrote the historical work called Chhos *h*hyuñ rin mdso*d*. *B*ssañ *d*pal of Sa-*s*kya died. Emperor Gegen Khan died in Hor. 1321

Ye-sun-the-mur, the great-grandson of Sa-chhen (Khublai), who was born in the year *water-serpent*, became emperor. 1323

*R*dorgyan of Roñ died. Sañs-*r*gya*s*-ston of Bya-Yul died. Señ-*r*gya*l* died at *H*brug Raluñ. 1324

Nam *m*kha*h* *r*gya*l*-*m*tshhn of Lho-brag, who was Tsoñ-khapa's tutor, was born. 1325

*M*tha*h*-ya*s* (Ananta), the fifteenth Kulika, ascended the throne of S'ambhala. Kun-*b*lo of Sa-*s*kya died. Yon-*r*gyam, the Jonañ Lama, died. 1326

Emperor Ye-sun-the-mur died. 1327

The two sons of the emperor Khulug, namely Rinchhen *H*phag*s* (born in the year *iron-mouse*) and Kaus'alí (born in the year *water-tiger*), successively became emperors, and each died after a few months' reign. Pau-yanthu's son Chi-yá-thu (born in the year *wood-dragon*) became emperor. 1328

The abbot Ye*ś*e*s* *b*so*d* nam *r*gya-*m*tsho was born. 1329

Don-grub *d*pal, the son of Señge-*h*bum, the spiritual son of *R*ñog Chhos *r*dor, was born.

Rañ-*h*byuñ *R*dorje visited Hor. 1330

Ta-*d*ven *b*lo-*r*gyan and Ta-*d*ven Chhos *r*gyan, the sons of Tisri Kun-*r*gyan of Sa*s*kya, were born. Emperor Chi-yá-thu died. Ratna S'rí, the son of Kausalí, born in the year *fire-tiger*, became emperor. After one month's reign he died. 1331

Nam-*m*kha*h* *d*pal of *S*tag-luñ was born. The monastery of *G*na*s* nañ was founded by *M*tshur. Tho-gwan themur the son of Chi-yá-thu, born in the year *earth-horse*, became emperor. 1332

*R*gyan *h*bum of S'añ*s* jag was born. 1333

*H*bri goñ Chhos *r*gya*l*, who became Tsoñkhapa's tutor, was born. Se-spyi*l*-pa Rinehhen Señ was born. 1334

*S*gampo Chhos *r*gyan died. 1335

Se-spyi*l* Lha of Ssur-khañ died. 1336

Sans-*r*gya*s* *S*gom Phyi-mā died in Bya-yul. 1337

Ratna Guru of *S*tag-luñ died. Karma Rañ byuñ *r*dorje died in Hor. 1338

The fourth Karma hierarch Ro*l*pa*h*i *r*dorje Dharma Kírti was born in Koñ-po. 1339

*B*so*d* nam *b*ssañ of *S*myuñ-*g*na*s* was born. 1340

*B*so*d* nam*s* *r*gya*l*-*m*tshan (Kun-spañ chhenpo) was born. Se-*s*pyi*l*-pa S'akya *b*so*d* was born.

On the death of Nam legs-pa, Blama Dampa became the Saskya hierarch. Gshon-smon of Drag-po died. Kumára, the Rñiñ-ma Lama, died. Dpal-blo-brtan died. 1341

Mun-Me brag Kha-va, the J'onaṅ abbot, died. 1342

According to the chronology of Rgya-Ston the Sútránta vyákaraṇa was introduced. 1343

Śakya bssaṅ the Lo-cháva of Stag-luṅ died. 1344

Blo gros Seṅge of the middle Hbrug-Raluṅ school was born. 1345

Lho-rin-pochhe Grags you of the Bkahrgyud school was born. Kun Seṅ died at Hbrug-Raluṅ. 1346

Rje-btsun raṅ hdah-pa Gshon was born. Theg-chhen chhos rgyal kun bkra, the son of Chhos rgyan of Sa-skya, was born. Tahi Situ Byaṅ-chhub Rgyan became the ruler of the entire Dvus (or central Tibet). Shva-dmar Grags seṅ died. The Shi-byed-pa abbot Rinchhen Chhos rgyal died. 1348

Rin rgyan Dus hkor-va, the pupil of Hj'am-dvyaṅs Chhos mgon Dolbus, was born. Gyag-phrug Sans was born.

Mkha-spyod dvaṅ-po Ye-dpal, the second red-cap hierarch, an incarnation of Grags-seṅ, was born. Sans rgyas rin-rgyan, the disciple of Hjam-dvyaṅs bssam grub the Rñiṅ-ma abbot, was born. Se-spyil-pa Lha blo hod died. 1349

Chhos hbyuṅ rin-chhen, the disciple of Hjag-chhen Byams-dpal, was born. The town of Rtse-thaṅ (also called Rtsis-thaṅ) was founded by Tahi Situ. Rdor-rgyal died at Hbri-goṅ. 1350

Bsod nams lhun-grub of Se-spyil was born. The sage Jñána-prajña died. 1351

Karma Rol pahi rdorje entered monkhood. A great earthquake took place in Tibet. 1352

Śar-rin-pochhe (of the Bkah rgyud school) of Khams was born.

Byaṅ-pa Tahi dven, with the permission of Śer-rgyan, repaired the monastry of Ñam riṅ. Tahi Situ brought the whole of Gtsaṅ under his power. 1353

Blogros Seṅ ge of Rgyal-lha khaṅ and others commenced the Mñon-pa (Abhidharma.) 1354

Hjam dpal rgya-mtsho, the adept, was born. Chhos bshi gsarma Grags byaṅ of Phag-gru, who became Tsoṅkhapa's spiritual guide, was born. 1355

Tsoṅ-khapa was born at Tsoṅ-kha. His disciple Śakya bsod was born. Spyan sña-va Bsod nams Grags was born. Grub-pa Śesrab of Snar-thaṅ was born. Karma Rol-pahi rdorje received the final vows of monkhood. 1356

Ta*h*i Śrí Kun-*r*gyan of Sa-*s*kya died. 1357

*B*so*d*nam Grag*s* of Phag-gru was born. *B*kra-śi*s* *d*pal *b*r tseg*s* of *S*tag-luń was born. Gyag-*s*de pan chhen founded the monastery of E-bam. *R*ńog chhos *r*gyan died. 1358

Blo-gro*s* *b*ssań-po of *G*tsań, the pupil of *H*ba*h*ri, was born. Byań *d*pal, the son of *R*ńog don-*d*pa*l*, was born. Chhos *b*shi *R*ñiń ma died at Phag-gru. 1359

Ratnákara, the abbot of *S*tag luń, died.

Jonań Lo-cháva Śer-*r*gyan died. 1360

Rimi *h*bab-pa was born. *R*je Tsońkhapa received abhiśeka from Don-rin-pochhe. 1361

*R*go*d* phrug ra*s*-pa Grag*s* *h*byuń of the *B*ka*h* *b*rgyu*d* school, a native of Ninu, was born. *R*je-*b*lama (Tsońkhapa) became a (Śramaṇera) neophite monk under Don rinpa. Tshu*l* *m*gon of Bya-yul died. *R*ñińma *K*loń-chhen died. 1362

Darma Rinchhen (Khri-chhen *r*gya*l*-tshab) was born. Ye*ś*e*s* rinchhen of middle *H*brug was born. Bu-*s*ton Tham*s* cha*s* *m*khyen-pa retired to the mansion of purity (died). 1363

*G*ser-*g*liń-pa *b*kra-*d*pal of Śań*s* died. 1364

Byań-Sem*s* kun *b*ssań, a pupil of *R*je (Tsoń-khapa), was born. Orgyan *m*gon-po of *S*tag luń died. *B*sam-*g*tan *d*pa*l* of the *B*kah-*r*gyu*d* school died. 1365

*S*ton Śakya *r*gyan of Khams *r*gya*l*-mo roń was born. The monastery of Roń-Byam*s* chhen was founded by Sems-*d*pa*h* *g*shon *r*gya*l*. 1366

The Mongol emperor Tho kwan themur, having lost the throne, fled to Mongolia which he ruled over. Huń-Wu, the founder of the Tamiń dynasty, became emperor of China. *G*yuń *s*lon, the predecessor of Mkha*s* grub, died. 1367

The great Tai Miń invited the sage (sthávira) Chhu-*h*gra*m*-pa to China.

*R*gya*l* sra*s* thog me*d* was born. 1368

The twelveth *G*sarma died. 1369

*S*gom-po chhos *d*vań phyug was born. Śer-seń of middle *H*brug was born. 1370

*R*je-*b*lama (Tson-khapa) proceeded to *D*vu*s* and *G*tsań (Tibet proper). 1371

Hor *s*ton nam *m*khah *d*pal, the abbot of the Byań-*r*tse division of *D*gah*l*dan, was born.

*R*je-*b*lama (Tsoń-khapa) visited *H*bri-gon and *B*de-va chan. 1372

The Vinaya teacher Grag*s*-pa *r*gya*l*-*m*tshan was born. 1373

Sha-lu Leg*s* *r*gyan (Khri-chhen) was born. Bo-doń chhos

*r*gyan Phyog*s* las *r*nam *r*gya*l* was born. *B*lo grag*s* died at *S*nar-than. *B*lama Dampa *b*so*d* *r*gyan was born. 1374

*R*je-*b*lama collected the first series of his religious discourses. *H*jam *b*sam *r*dorje, the *R*ñiñ-ma Lama, died. 1375

Grag*s* don-pa of *S*narthan was born. 1376

The monastery of *S*tag-*r*tse *r*nam *r*gya*l* sgan was founded by *M*kha*h* spyod *d*van-po (a red-cap Lama). Gyag-sde Panchhen died. 1377

*H*jam-*d*vyan*s* chho*s* *r*je *b*kra*ś*i*s* *d*pa*l* *l*dan was born. *S*tag lun Nam *d*pa*l* died. 1378

*S*pyan *s*na *b*so*d* *b*ssan of Phag-gru was born. *M*khan-po Ye*ś*e*s* *b*so*d* *r*gyam died. *D*van Lo-chán Byan-*r*tse died. 1379

*D*pa*l* *l*dan Don grub, also called *S*tag-phru-gu S'rí, a disciple of *R*je (Tson-khapa), was born. Chog-ro Ñor-pa Kun-*b*ssan of Sa-*s*kya was born. Kun-*r*gyan of Sa-*s*kya *r*dson was born. 1381

Byam*s* chhen-cho*s* *r*je of S'era was born. *S*pyan *s*na *d*pa*l* *b*ssan of Phag-gru was born. Gun Ru *r*gyan *b*ssan of Sera was born.

Karma Ro*l* *r*dorje died. 1382

The Indian Pandit Pan-chhen Nag*s* Rin was born. De-*b*shin *g*s'egs-pa, the fifth Karma hierarch, was born. S'akya *r*gya*l*-po, the *R*ñiñma Lama, who was the abbot of Yan *r*tse-ra, was born. 1383

The red congregation hall of *S*tag lun was erected by *D*pa*l* *r*tsegs.

*D*ge leg*s* *d*pa*l* *b*ssan (Khri-chhen *m*kha*s* grub-thams cha*d* *m*khyenpa) was born. (He was the first of the line of Panchhen Rinpo-chhes of Taśi-lhunpo). Than-*s*ton *r*gyal-po, the physician, was born. 1384

Ku-jo *r*tog*s* *l*dan was born. Karma *S*mra*s* sen *r*tog *l*dan was born. *B*so*d* *r*gyan, the twenty-second Phag-gru hierarch, was born.

The shrine of Mamo in *D*ga*h* *l*dan was founded by *M*kha*h* *s*pyod-pa. The *B*shipa *g*sar-ma of Phag-gru died. Jonan Phyog*s* leg*s* *r*nam *r*gya*l* died. 1385

CYCLE VII.

The monastery of Se-pyi*l* was governed by the earlier S'akya *b*so*d* nam*s*. 1386

Mus-chhen kun *m*chhog *r*gyan, the disciple of Dorpa Kun *b*ssan, was born. 1387

Khri *B*logros chho*s* *s*kyon was born. 1388

*M*khan chhen *H*jam-ye died. *B*lo señ died at *H*brug Raluñ. Ripa *g*shon-nu *r*gya*l* *m*tshan died. 1389

*D*ge-*h*dun grub, the first of the line of the (*R*gyal-va Rinpo-chhe) Talai Lamas, was born. *B*so*d* nam *r*gya*l*-*m*tshan of Se-spyil-bu was born.

Hjag-chhen Byam*s* *d*pa*l* of S'añ died. S'añ *H*ba*h*-ra, the pupil of Ssur-phu and disciple of *S*pyan-sña Rin *l*dan, died. 1390

Byañ-sem*s* *b*lo *r*gyan, the disciple of *R*je *b*lama (Tsoñ-khapa), was born. *H*go*s* Lo-cháva (yi*d* *b*ssañ *r*tse *g*shon-nu *d*pa*l*), the Karma-*R*ñiñ abbot, was born. *R*je *b*lama, after being miraculously visited by *H*jam-*d*vyañs, proceeded to Bya-bral in *Hol*kha. S'er señ died at *H*brug Raluñ. 1391

*R*dsiñ-phyi was repaired by *R*je-*b*lama Tsoñ-khapa chenpo. He was miraculously visited by *H*jig*s*-bye*d* at *R*gya sog phu. *G*shon-nu ye*ś*e*s* died in Bya-yu*l*. 1392

Byañ-sem*s* śer *b*ssañ of *S*ma*d* was born. *R*je *b*lama (Tsoñ-khapa) met Lho-brag-pa. 1394

*R*je *b*lama founded the educational college of *G*ña*l*. 1395

Rin-señ of Se-*s*pyil-bu died. 1396

Nam-*m*kha*h* *d*pal of middle of *H*brug was born. 1397

*B*so*d* nam*s* *m*chhog grub of *S*narthañ, who became *M*kha-grub's disciple, and *M*khan-chhen grub śer's nephew were born.

The second Miñ emperor Huñ-wu tsha ascended the throne of China. 1398

*G*rag*s*-pa *d*pal *l*dan of *S*pa*s* and *H*dul-*h*dsin *B*lo-gra*s*, the disciple of *D*ge-hdun grub, were born. 1399

*B*ssod-pa *d*pal grub of *S*narthañ was born. *B*so*d* nam*s* *r*nam *r*gya*l* of Byam*s* *g*liñ, who taught asceticism to *R*je *b*lama Tsoñ-khapa, was born. Lama kun died at the monastery of *S*narthañ. Nam-*m*kha*h* *r*gyal *m*tshan of Lho-brag died. 1400

Baso chho*s* kyi *r*gya*l* *m*tshan, the younger brother of *M*khas grub *r*je, was born. Khri *B*lo gro*s* *b*rtan-pa was born. *S*pyan *s*ña *b*lo-gro*s* *r*gyal *m*tshan was born. *D*pa*l* *l*dan *b*ssañ-po of *H*dul nag was born. San*s* *r*gya*s* chho*s* kyi señ-ge of *S*gampo died. 1401

Byañ-chhub *r*gya-*m*tsho of *S*tag-luñ, the red-cap Lama, was born. Ratna *g*liñ pa of the *R*ñiñ-ma school was born. Yunglo became emperor of China. 1402

Chho*s* *d*vañ grag*s*-pa of Shañ Shûñ was born. 1403

S'er-ab*s* Rin chhen, called *S*tag Lo-cháva, was born. *M*khas grub *r*je took the final vows of monkhood. *D*ge-*h*dun grub entered monkhood. *M*khah *S*pyo*d* *d*vañ-po, the Shva-mar (red-cap) Lama, died. 1404

Chhos *d*pal yes'es, the third Shva *d*mar Lama and incarnation of *M*khah *d*vañ, was born. 1405

*M*khas grub Thams cha*d* *m*khyan-pa became a disciple of *R*je Tsoñkhapa. The fifth Karma-pa Lama proceeded to China. *S*pyan sña *d*pal *b*ssañ of Phag-gru died. 1406

*B*kra-śis *d*pal ho*d* of *S*tag-luñ was born. Emperor Tai Ming (Yunglo) invited Byams chen chhos *r*je, abbot of Sera, to China. Grags *b*so*d* nams died at Phag-gru. Chhos *h*byuñ Rinchhen, the saint, died. 1407

*D*pal *b*ssañ of Se-spyil-bu was born. Tsoñkhapa founded the grand prayer meeting of Lhasa, called Monlam chhenpo, and founded the great monastery of Rivo *D*ga*h* *l*dan *r*nampar *r*gya*l* va*h*i *g*liñ. Kunsrañ *b*so*d* *r*gyan died. 1408

Panchhen *b*ssañpo *b*kra śis of *B*kra *ś*i*s* lhun-po was born. S'akya S'rí of Tsañ was born. *D*ge-*h*dun grub took the final vows of monkhood. S'akya *b*so*d* nams of Se-spyi*l*-bu died. 1409

Sañs *r*gya*s* *h*phe*l*, the Rab *h*byams-pa (doctor of divinity) of Byams chhen, was born. 1410

*R*je-*b*tsun Reñ *h*da*h*-va died at Shiñ shun. 1411

Ye-śes rinchhen died at *H*brug-Raluñ. 1412

Khri *S*mon *D*pa*l* legs *b*lo was born. Gyag phrug sañs *d*pa*l* of Sa-*s*kya died. Lho Rin-po chhe grag*s* yon died. 1413

Khri Yes'e*s* *b*ssañpo was born. Karma De-*b*shin *g*śegs-pa died. 1414

*M*thoñ-va don-*l*dan, the sixth Karma hierarch, was born. *Hj*am *d*vyañs Chhos *r*je *d*pal founded the great monastery of *H*bra*s* *s*puñ. Da-puñ *B*so*d* *b*ssañ of Phag-gru died. 1415

*D*ge *h*dun *b*ssañpo of *G*tsañ gi khyuñ-po bya-bra*l*, the pupil of Baso, was born. The twenty-second hierarch of Phag-gru succeeded his predecessor. The historical work, called Chhos *h*byuñ *b*stan-pa *G*sa*l* by*e*d, was written by Don grub *d*pa*l* of Kam kam. *R*ñiñ-ma Rin *g*liñ recovered some concealed religious works from underneath the rock of Khyuñ tshañ brag. 1416

Ñag *d*vañ grag*s* of Stag-luñ was born. 1417

Kun *d*gah don-*h*grub, who founded *R*gyu*d* *s*to*d*, was born.

The monastery of Sera theg chhen *g*liñ was founded by S'akya ye*ś*e*s*. Dharma Rinchhen became Tsoñkhapa's successor on the grand hierarchical throne of *D*ga*h* *l*dan. *R*je Tsoñkhapa returned to the presence of Maitreya Bodhisattva. 1418

S'er *r*gyan of *S*narthañ was born. The monastery of *G*sañ sñag*s* *m*khar was founded. 1420

*R*je-nor *b*ssañ *r*gya-*m*tsho was born. *R*gyan-*B*de founded the monasteries of *G*na*s* thañ and Ssuñ-man of Me-*r*tog *l*dan. 1421

*G*tsañ *b*lo-gros, the pupil of *D*pa*h* ra, died. Grub S'erab*s* of *S*narthañ died.

Chhos *d*vañ-phyug of *S*gampo died. 1422

Grag*s* śer (the second) of *S*narthañ was born.

Lo-cháva *B*so*d* nam*s* *r*gyam was born. He wrote thirteen volumes. *B*kra śi*s* *d*pal *r*tsegs died at *S*tag luñ. 1423

*M*khan-chhen Du*s* *H*khor-va Rin *r*gyan was born. Karma *M*tshur-phu-pa composed Bye*d* *r*tsi*s* and Sa-byar *S*grub *r*tsi*s* and *G*ssa*h* *g*na*s* drug.

Huñshi, the fourth Ming emperor, ascended the throne of China. Nam *d*pal of *H*brug Raluñ died. 1424

Panchhen nag*s* kyi Rinchhen first visited Tibet. *B*sson-te became the fifth Ming emperor of China. 1425

*D*pal-*h*byor lhun grub of Sera (a native of *G*ñal-*s*ton) was born. The sixteenth Kulika, named Bhúpála, ascended the throne of S'ambhala. *D*pa*l* *l*dan *b*lo-gro*s* of Sera was born. S'ar Rinpochhe died. 1426

S'akya *m*chhog *l*dan was born. *R*gyal *d*vañ chho*s* *r*je *d*pal of middle *H*brug was born. *R*tog*s* *l*dan *H*jam *d*pal *r*gya-*m*tsho died. 1427

*B*lo *b*ssañ grag*s*-pa of *H*dar-*s*ton was born.

*H*jam *d*vyañ*s* *D*ga*h* *b*lo (Leg*s*-pa chhos *h*byor) was born. S'er *b*ssañ of Byañ-*r*tse was born. *M*chhog lha of Rva *s*to*d* was born. Goram *b*so*d* señ was born. *R*tog*s* *l*danpa's incarnation, *R*gya sra*s* śe*s* rab *h*phel, was born. *B*ssañ dor kun-*b*ssañ of Sa*s*kya founded the monastery of E-bam. Se-spyil *b*so*d* lhun died. 1428

*B*kra śi*s* *d*pal ho*d*-pa became abbot of Stagluñ. *B*so*d* *r*gyan of Se-spyil-bu died. 1429

*M*kha*s* grub *r*je became the grand hierarch of *D*ga*h* *l*dan. Sañ*s* *r*gya*s* rinchhen *r*gya*l* *m*tshan, the *R*ñiñ-ma Lama of Ye-*r*tse, died. 1430

Kun-*d*ga*h* *r*nam *r*gyal of Thon-mi, the disciple of Panchhen Byam*s* *g*liñ, was born. *H*bum phrag *g*sum-pa of Sa*s*kya and Kun-*d*ga*h* chhos *b*ssañ were born. 1431

Panchhen Ye-*r*tse of *B*kra*ś*i*s* lhunpo was born. Se-spyil-pa Sñan grag*s* was born. The monastery of *R*gyu*d* *s*ma*d* was founded by *R*je-señ. *B*so*d* *b*ssañ of *S*myuñ *G*na*s* died. 1432

*M*kha*s* grub *r*je wrote a commentary of the Kálachakra system. *H*du*l* *h*dsin grag*s* *r*gyan died. 1433

The monastery of Nálendra was founded by Roñ-*s*ton.

The possession of *G*tsañ passed to Rin-*s*puñ from the hands of Phag-gru. 1434

The monastery of *S*tag mo *g*liñ was founded by Muschhen *D*kon *m*chhog *r*gyan. The sixth Ming emperor Tiñg-thûñ ascended the throne. Kun *r*gyan of Saskya Jong died. 1435

The monastery of Byams-pa *g*liñ in Chha*b* *m*do in Kham*s* was founded by *S*ma*d* S'e*s* rab *b*ssañ, the disciple of Tsoñ-khapa. 1436

The monastery of *M*do *S*ñag*s* *g*liñ was founded by Byañ Sem*s* kun *d*gah. Mkha*s*grub Chho*s* *r*je died. 1437

*B*lo *b*ssañ Ñima, the *D*von-po (disciple) of Tsoñ-khapa, was born. The first *H*phag-pa-lha of Kham*s* was born. *R*je Ñag *d*vañ of Phag-gru was born. The great chhorten of *D*pa*l* *h*khor chho*s*-*s*de of Gyañ-tse was built. 1438

Chho*s* skyoñ *b*ssañ-po (Shvalu Lo-cháva) was born. 1439

Byañ Sem*s* S'akya *b*so*d* nam*s* of Rva-*s*greñ died. 1441

Yon tan *r*gya-*m*tsho of Thon-pa was born. 1442

*B*dag-chen *B*lo *R*gyan of Saskya was born. Byañ sem*s* kun *d*ga*h* *b*ssañ died. 1443

Don yo*d* *d*pa*l* *l*dan of Sera was born.

S'esrab señge of *S*narthañ, who founded the *R*gyu*d* grva tshañ of *G*tsañ and *D*vu*s*, died. Gu-jo *r*tog*s* *l*dan died. 1444

Kun *d*gah *b*de leg*s* *r*gyan *b*ssañ of *G*na*s* *r*ñiñ, who became Baso's disciple, was born. Lhariba of *R*gyu*d* sto*d* was born.

Lha *d*vañ *d*pal *h*byor was born. *R*ñog byañ *d*pa*l* died. 1445

CYCLE VIII.

Rinchhen Chho*s* *r*gyen (Chhog Lo-cháva) was born. The monastery of *B*kra-śi*s* Lhun-po in *G*tsañ was founded. Nam *m*kha*h* *d*pa*l* (Hor-*s*ton, the Lama of the Mongols) died. 1446

Byañ Chhub *r*gya-*m*tsho (of the red-cap school) of *S*tag luñ died. 1447

Chho*s* *r*gya*l* *b*stanpa (Rab *h*byams-pa or doctor of divinity) of Dvag*s*po, who was S'an*s* *r*gya*s* *h*phel's disciple, was born. Kun *h*ssañ Chho*s* ñam of *R*do-rañ was born. The monastery of *S*kyi*d* tshul of Hbra*s*-yul in Sa-*s*kya was founded by San*s* *h*phel, the Rab hbyams-pa. *H*jam *d*vyañ*s* chho*s* *r*je died.

Roñston died. 1448

Khri S'i*s* dar leg*s* blo was born. The seventh Ming emperor Tsing-the ascended the throne. Leg*s* *r*gyan of Shvalu died. Guñru *r*gyen *b*ssañ died. Bodoñ phyog*s* la*s* *r*nam *r*gya*l* died. 1449

Grag*s* *r*gyan *S*gam *S*myon of *S*gampo died. 1450

*B*so*d* nam*s* *m*Chhog grub of *S*narthañ died. Shva *d*mar Chho*s* *d*pa*l* ye*s*e*s* died. 1451

Khri-pa Chhos *b*śes was born. Khri-pa Rin *h*od was born. Chho Grags Yeśes, the fourth Shva-*d*mar Lama, was born. Pañchhen Nags rin visited Tibet. Karma *M*thoṅ-va Don *l*dan died. Rimi *h*bab-pa died. 1452

*S*gampo *b*sod *r*gyan was born. The seventh Karma hierarch Chhos Grags *r*gya-*m*tsho was born. 1453

Phyogs las *r*nam *r*gyal and Chhos *d*vaṅ Lhun-grub were born. 1454

Kun-*b*ssaṅ of N̂or was born. 1455

Grub Chhos *r*dorje was born.

*B*kra-śis *d*pal, the Tantrik saint of the Karma school, was born. The eighth Ming emperor T'hen-srun ascended the throne of China. Byaṅ sems śer *b*ssaṅ of *S*mad died. 1456

Chhos *l*dan *b*lo gros of *R*gyud *s*tod was born. Panchhen N̂ag *d*vaṅ grags-pa was born at *S*ñuṅ. 1457

The second S'akya *b*sod nams of Se-spyil was born. *B*kra śis *d*pal of *S*tag luṅ died. 1459

The second *B*kra *d*pal of *S*tag luṅ was born. *S*ñan grags of Se-spyil died. 1460

Baso Chhos *r*gyan became the grand hierarch of *D*gah-*l*dan. Khri *B*lo gros Chhos *s*kyoṅ died. 1462

The monastery of Goṅkar *R*dorje *G*dan was founded by Thon-me kun *d*gah. 1463

The monastery of *S*kyo *m*dah *d*gonpa was founded by *H*gro *m*gon *B*lo gros *b*ssaṅpo of *S*kyo *m*dah in the eighth year of his age. The nineth Ming emperor Hwa ascended the throne of China. 1464

*B*logros *r*gyal-*m*tshan founded the monastery of Ñi-*s*tiṅ.

*S*tag Phrugu S'rí died. Lo-chhuṅ *D*kah *b*shi-va died. 1465

Grags don of *S*narthaṅ died. 1466

Panchhen Nags rin died at Palpo in Nepal. 1467

*B*tsun-pa Chhos *r*gyan of Sera was born. *R*nam *r*gyal Grags-pa of *S*tag-luṅ was born. The monastery of *G*ser-*m*dog chan was founded by S'akya *m*chhog. Mus-chhen *D*kon *r*gyan died.

*R*je druṅ Chhos *d*vaṅ Grags of Shaṅshuṅ died. 1468

*B*ssaṅ *d*pal died at *S*narthaṅ. *B*lo *r*gyan (Sems-*D*pah chhen-po) of *B*demo thaṅ died. 1469

*S*mon lam *b*lo gros, the first embodiment of Sems dpah of *B*demo thaṅ, was born. 1470

*B*sod nams *d*pal *b*ssaṅ of *S*tagluṅ was born. The monastery of Grva Byams *g*liṅ was founded by Thumi Lhan *b*kras. *S*pyan *S*ṅa *b*lo *r*gya-*m*tsho died. 1471

Khri Chhos Skyoṅ rgya-mtsho was born. Lha Chhos bssaṅ of Se-spyil was born. Blo brtan became the grand hierarch of Dgah ldan. The monastery of Thub-bstan rnam-rgyal was founded by Karam-pa. Baso Chhos rgyan died. Hdul nag-pa of Snar thaṅ died. 1472

Dge hdun grub died, and Panchhen Bssaṅ-po bkra śis became abbot of Bkra śis lhunpo. Rñiṅ-ma S'akya rgyal died. 1473

Dge hdun rgya-mtsho, the second embodiment of the Rgyal-va Rin-po-chhe, was born.

Blo gros Grags dpal (Hdul hdsin) died. Byams pa Gliṅ-pa died. 1474

Ssla-va rgyal mtshan of Stoṅ skor, an incarnation of Hdul hdsin grags rgyan, was born. Kun dpal of Hbrug-pa school died. 1475

Kun dgah legs blo of Sgom-rum was born. 1476

Khri-pa Panchhen bsod Grags, an incarnation of Bu-ston, was born. Bssaṅ bkra having died, Luṅ rig rgya-mtsho became abbot of Bkraśis lhunpo. Ko-ram bsod Seṅge founded the monastery of Thub-bstan rnam rgyal glin. Khri Blo brtan died. 1477

Ssur-maṅ Bya btaṅ-pa was born. At the sixty-first anniversary of Tsoṅkhapa, a religious controversy took place at Rtse-śar. 1478

The Rtse śar controversy having terminated, Smon lam dpal became the grand hierarch of Dgah ldan. 1479

The Lama Shva dmar led the Tsaṅ army to Dvus. Hgos Lo-cháva Gshon-dpal died at Yid rtse. 1480

Ñag-dvaṅ Hjigs med Grags of Rin spuṅ was born. Lo-cháva bsod rgyam was born. 1481

In the sacred chronology of Nor bssaṅ rgya-mtsho the 712th year of the second age expired. 1482

Byams Chhen Rab hbyams died. 1484

Talai Lama Dge-hdun rgya-mtsho entered monkhood. Grags śes rab became abbot of Snarthaṅ. Kungrul of Rgyud stod died. 1485

Dpal bssaṅ of Se-spyil died. Hphags-pa lha of Khams died. 1486

Sgam-po bsod lhun died. Huṅti, the tenth Ming emperor, ascended the throne of China. Sgam-po bsod rgyan died. 1487

Lo-cháva Rinchhen bssaṅ of Shvalu was born. The monastery of Ñan yod śaṅs chhos sde of Sa-skya was founded by Hbum phrag gsum-pa. Gor rampa Bsod Seṅ of Sa-skya died. 1488

Blo bssaṅ Ñima became grand hierarch of Dgah ldan. The

monastery of Thub-*b*stan Yañs-pa-chan was founded by Rab *h*byams-pa Thug-*r*je *d*pal of Mus. 1489

Khri Mi ñag *r*dorje *b*ssañ-po was born. Khri *S*mon lam *d*pal died. 1490

Khri-pa *D*von-po *B*lo *b*ssañ Ñima died. 1491

Khri Chhos grags *b*ssañpo was born. Khri *D*ge-*h*dun *b*stan-dar was born. 1492

The work, called *B*ka*h* *g*dams Chhos *h*byuñ *G*sal *s*gron, was written by Las Chhen kun *d*gah *r*gya*l* *m*tshan. 1493

Kun *d*gah Gro*l* *m*chho*g*, the head of the Jonañ school, was born. 1494

Thonmi Kun*d*ga*h* *r*nam *r*gya*l* died. Kun*d*ga*h* *b*de legs of *G*nas *r*ñiñ died. Ñag Grags of *S*tag-luñ died. 1495

Khri *r*gyan *b*ssañ was born. 1496

Rinchhen *S*puñpa of *G*tsañ, after taking *S*ne*h*u *r*dsoñ, took possession of *S*pyi*d* S'añ.—At the grand annual prayer meeting (Monlam Chhenpo) of Lhasa the Lamas of the *G*sañ-phu and Karma schools humiliated those of the Sa-*s*kya-pa and *H*bras *s*puñ schools. Khri ve *b*ssañ died. 1497

Karma Grub thob *B*kra *d*pal of *G*ñan founded the hermitage of Orgyan Rikro*d*. 1498

*H*darston became grand hierarch of *D*ga*h* *l*dan. Panchhen *m*chhog Lhapa died. 1499

Khri ñag *d*vañ Chhos Grags was born. 1500

*B*lo *g*sal *r*gya-*m*tsho of Tshar-chhen was born. *S*gom-*s*myon died. 1501

*H*jam *d*ga*h* *b*lo died. Kun *d*gah Chhos *b*ssañ, the abbot of *S*kyi*d* tshal, died. *D*pa*h*-po Chhos *d*vañ Chun Grub died. 1502

The second *D*pa*h*-po *G*tsug-lag phreñ-pa, the astrologer and chronologist, was born. *H*bum phrag, *G*sum-pa of Sa-*s*kya, died. 1503

Khri *D*ge-legs *d*pal of *H*ol *d*ga*h* was born.

The third incarnation of the Panchhen Rin-po chhe, named *B*lo *b*ssañ don grub, was born.

The sage Phyogs las *r*nam *r*gya*l* was born. Tiñ-te, the eleventh Ming emperor, ascended the throne. 1504

Karma Chhos Grags *r*gya-*m*tsho died. 1505

CYCLE IX.

Mi *b*skyo*d* *r*dorje, the eighth Karma hierarch, was born. Sañs *r*gyas *d*pa*l*, the second incarnation of *H*phags-pa lha Kham*s*, was born.

S'er-*bs*saṅ died at Byaṅ *r*tse. S'akya *m*chhog of Sa-*s*kya died. 1506

The second *B*kra *d*pal of *S*tag-luṅ died. 1507

*D*ge-*h*dun *r*gya-*m*tsho founded the monastery of Chhos *h*khor-*r*gyal in the plain of *R*gyal Metog thaṅ. 1508

Chos *l*dan *b*lo gros of *R*gyu*d* sto*d* died. Khri *H*dar *S*ton *b*lo *b*ssaṅ grag*s*-pa died. 1510

*B*lama rinpochhe *D*ge-*h*dun *r*gya-*m*tsho became the grand hierarch of *B*kra *ś*is lhunpo. 1511

Panchhen *B*kra *ś*is *r*nam *r*gyal of *S*gampo was born.

*M*kha*s* grub Nor *b*ssaṅ *r*gya *m*tsho was born. 1512

*D*pal *b*lo of Sera died. 1513

The Panchhen died at *S*ñug. 1514

Khri Byam*s*-pa *r*gya-*m*tsho was born. *B*so*d*nam*s* *D*vaṅ *r*gyal of *S*gampo was born. Lharipa of *R*gyu*d* sto*d* died. 1515

The grand Lama *D*ge-*h*dun *r*gya-*m*tsho became abbot of *H*bra*s* spuṅ*s*.

Khri Rin *hod*-pa wrote a treatise on the chronology of the Buddhists. 1516

The power of *G*tsaṅ-pa, having waned since the year *fire-mouse*, the monasteries of Sera and *H*bras spuṅ recovered their place in the Monlam Chhenpo, the grand prayer assembly of Lhasa. 1517

Thub *d*vaṅ *b*stan *h*dsin of *S*gampo was born. Kun-*d*ga*h* *d*pal of N̂aṅ, who was born in the year *fire-ox*, became abbot of Chhab-*m*do. 1518

Khri Tshe-*b*rtan *r*gya-*m*tsho was born. *B*so*d* *d*pal of *S*tag luṅ died. 1519

Grub-chhen Chhos *r*dorje made over the book of miraculous revelations of Tsoṅ khapa to the Talai Lama *B*lo-*b*ssaṅ Don grub. Thon-pa Yon-*r*gya-*m*tsho died. Grub thob of *G*ñan, having died, was re-born in the same year. 1520

Kya-Jiṅ, the twelveth Ming emperor ascended the throne of China. 1521

Khri dam Chhos *d*pal *h*bar was born. 1522

*H*jam *d*vya*ṅ*s *m*khyen *b*rtse *d*vaṅ phyug was born.

*R*nam *r*gyal *b*kra *ś*is of *S*tag luṅ was born. Don yo*d* *d*pal *l*dan of Sera died. Chhos kyi Ñima of *R*do-roṅ died. Rab *b*byam*s*-pa of Dvag*s*-po died. Chhos Grag*s* Ye*ś*e*s* of the Shva-*d*mar school died. 1523

*M*kha*s* grub Sans *r*gya*s* Ye*ś*e*s* was born. *D*kon *m*chhog yanlag, the fifth Shva *d*mar hierarch, was born. 1524

Khri *D*pal *h*byor *r*gya *m*tsho was born. Metri Dongrub *r*gya*l m*tshan of Bo*d m*khar was born. 1525

*B*so*d* nam*s* Chhos *h*phel of *D*gon *G*sar was born. *H*brug-pa Pa*d*ma *d*karpo, the great antagonist of Tsoṅkhapa, was born. The sixteenth Kulika (fabulous emperor), named *D*pa*l s*kyoṅ (S'rí-pála), ascended the throne of S'ambhala. The great Shalu Lo-cháva was born. 1526

*B*so*d* Grag*s*-pa became the grand hierarch of *D*ga*h l*dan, and wrote the Buddhist historical work called *B*ka*h g*dan Chhos *h*byuṅ. 1528

Khri S'esrab leg*s b*lo died. *R*nam *r*gya*l* Grag*s*-pa of *S*tag luṅ died. 1529

The foundation of the monastery of Phan *b*de *d*gon was laid by San*s r*gya*s b*kra *ś*i*s*, the father of *H*phag*s*-pa lha the second. 1530

Khri *D*ge *h*dun *r*gya*l m*tshan was born. *S*gom *l*de *r*nam *r*gyan of *R*gyu*d s*to*d* S'ar-va was born. 1531

*R*gya*l m*tshan *b*ssaṅ-po became abbot of *R*gyu*d-s*ma*d*. 1532

Spaṅ *d*kar Rinpochhe was born. 1533

Tharpa*h*i *r*gya*l m*tshan, also called Naga grub-chhen, was born.

Chhos *r*gya-*m*tsho became the grand hierarch of *D*ga*h l*dan. 1534

Kun-*b*kra of *S*tag luṅ was born. The work on astrology and astronomy, called *R*tsis *g*shuṅ, was composed by *G*tsugla phreṅ-va. 1535

*R*je-druṅ Lha *d*vaṅ Chhos *r*gyan, the incarnation of Baso Chhos *r*gyan, was born. The abbotship of Sera was filled by *R*je *b*tsun-pa. The *H*briguṅ authorities dispossessed the *D*ge *l*dan-pa hierarch of eighteen communities, Ho*d s*na &c. 1536

*R*do*r b*ssaṅ of Miñag became the grand hierarch of *D*ga*h l*dan. Khri Chhos *s*kyoṅ *r*gya-*m*tsho died. Karma *H*phrin las pa died. 1538

Khri San*s-r*gya*s* Rinchhen was born. Khri-pa Chhos *b*ś*es* died. Khri-pa Rin *ho*d died. Bya *b*taṅ of Ssur maṅ died. 1539

*R*nam *r*gya*l D*pa*l b*ssaṅ of *R*gyu*d S*ma*d* was born. *M*khan chhen nam *r*gyam was born. The monastery of *M*ña*h r*is Grva-tshaṅ was built on a hill near *R*tse-thaṅ. 1540

The Talai Lama *D*ge-*h*dun *r*gya-*m*tsho died. 1541

The third Talai Lama *B*so*d* nams *r*gya-*m*tsho was born. 1542

The monastery of Phan *b*de *G*liṅ was founded. Kun leg*s* of *S*gom rum died. 1543

Khri Chhos ñer Grag*s* was born. Khri *B*lo *r*gyam of *S*tag

luñ Brag was born. Khri Damchhos *dpal* was born. *Rje btsun*-pa died. The monasteries of Tshal Gunthañ and *Stag* luñ lha khañ were destroyed by fire. 1545

Rje-druñ S'er *dvañ* founded the monastery of Dar *rgyas* in Khams. Ñag *dvañ* Chhos Grags became grand hierarch of *Dgah ldan*. 1547

Rje bsod nams *rgya mtsho* entered monkhood. 1548

The monastery of *Bshad sgrub gliñ* in Khams was founded by Baso *sprul sku*. *Rnam rgyal* Phun-tsho became abbot of *Stag* luñ. 1549

Khri Ñag-*dvañ* Chhos Grags died. 1550

Chhos Grags *bssañ*-po became grand hierarch of *Dgah ldan*. *Sgampo Bsod* lhun died. 1551

Mi *Gyo Sñiñ*-po (*Rje*-druñ tsha-wa-pa), who was born in the year *fire-serpent*, was appointed to the abbotship of Chhab-*mdo*. Sems *dpah Smon* lam *Blo gros* died. *Sgam*-po *bsod* nams *Dvañ-rgyal* died. 1552

The second incarnation of Sems-*Dpah*, named Ñag *dvañ* Grags *rgyan*, was born. Khri *Bsod* nams Grags-pa died. Khri Miñag *Rdor bssañ* died. Karma Mi *bskyos rdorje* died. 1553

Khri-pa Grags-pa *rgya-mtsho* was born.

Khri-pa Grags-pa *rgya-mtsho* was born. Kun-*bkra* Lochâva filled the abbotship of *Stag*-luñ. His father Sañs *bkra* died. 1554

The ninth Karma incarnation, named *Dvañ*-phyug-*rdorje*, was born. The first incarnation of *Bsod* nams Grags-pa, named *Bsod* nams ye *dvañ*, was born. *Stoñ skor* Ssla *rgyan* died. 1555

Yontan *rgya-mtsho* of *Stoñ-skor* was born.

Dge-hdun bstan rgyam, the incarnation of *Rje*-druñ *Sñags* ram-pa (*Dge-Bkraśis*), was born. 1556

Dge-legs *dpal* of *Hol dgah* became grand hierarch of *Dgah ldan*. *Dvañ* phyug rab-*brtan* of *Gnas gsar* was born. *Bsod* nams *rgyamtsho* became the abbot of the Sera monastery. 1557

Dkon-mchhog rgya-mtsho of Sre (Hre) *rgyud* monastery was born. *Bdag* Chhen *Bsod dvañ* was born. Khri-pa Chhos Grags *bssañ*-po died. 1558

Rje druñ S'esrab *dvañ*-po of *Rgyañ* S'od held the abbotship of Chhab-*mdo*. 1559

Khri-pa Tshul Khrims Chhos *hphel* was born. 1560

Thub-*dvañ bstan hdsin* of *Sgampo* died. 1561

Shva lu Lochâva Riñ-*bssañ* died. *Rnam Bkra* of *Stag* luñ died. 1562

The incarnate Lama Sans *r*gya chhos *h*dsin was born. *B*so*d* nams *r*gya-*m*tsho took the final vows of monkhood. *D*ge-*h*drun *b*stan dar became the grand hierarch of *D*ga*h* *l*dan. 1563

Tshe *b*rtan *R*dorje pha gus of *G*tsañ became master of the province of *G*tsañ. Panchhen *B*lo-*b*ssañ Don Grub died. 1564

*S*esrab Phun-tshogs of *R*gyara was born. *G*tsug-lag *h*phreñ-va died. Kun *d*gah Gro*l* Chog died. *H*phags-pa Sans *r*gyas died.

Panchhen *R*nam tharma *B*lo-*b*ssañ Don Grub died. 1565

CYCLE X.

The third incarnation of *H*phags-pa Lha, named *M*thoñva don *l*dan *b*so*d* nams *r*nam *r*gya*l* *d*vañ po *h*i *s*de, was born. The eighteenth Ming emperor Hwañ-ti ling Chhing ascended the throne of China. Khri *D*ge legs *d*pa*l* died. Tshar-Chhen *b*lo *g*sa*l* died. 1566

The third *D*pa*h*-vo Karma *S*tsug lag *r*gya-*m*tsho was born. Tshe-*r*ten *r*gya *m*tsho became grand hierarch of *D*ga*h* *l*dan. Khri *D*ge *h*dun *b*stan dar died. 1567

Chhos *r*gyan of the *G*nas *r*ñiñ monastery became abbot of *B*kra *ś*is lhunpo. 1568

The fourth Panchhen (Taśi Lama) *B*lo *b*ssañ Chhos kyi *r*gya*l* *m*tshan was born S*e*r *d*vañ became abbot of Chhah *m*do for the second time. A dispute between *H*bri Guñ and *S*tag luñ took place. 1569

According to his biography Panchhen *B*lo *b*ssañ Chhos *r*gyal *m*tshan was born in this year. 1570

*S*gampo Khri-pa *B*kra S*i*s kun Grags was born. *M*khanpo Ñag *d*vañ Chhos Grags was born. At *S*kyi*d* S*o*ñ the Phag-gru dispute took place. Sems *d*pa*h* *s*pru*l* *s*ku Grags *r*gyan died. 1571

Khri *D*kon *m*chhog Chhos *h*phel of *G*liñ *S*ma*d* was born. The third embodiment of Sems *d*pa*l* *s*prul *s*ku Ñag *d*vañ Chhos *r*gya *m*tsho was born.

The fourteenth Ming emperor Wan li S*i*ñ kya ascended the throne of China. 1572

S*a*r-va nam *r*gyan-pa governed *R*gyu*d* *s*to*d*. Talai Lama *B*so*d* nams *r*gya-*m*tsho founded on Potala the monastery of *R*nam *r*gya*l* Grva-tshañ which afterwards was converted into a *R*ñiñ ma institution. 1573

*G*sa*l* khañ *s*pru*l* *s*ku Chhos *r*gyan, who was an incarnation of Khri *D*ñag-*d*vañ Chhos Grags, was born. Lama Táránátha Kun *S*ñiñ of the Jonañ school was born. Byam-*r*gyam became

the grand hierarch of *Dgah ldan*. The armies of Rin *spuñ*, after invading *Dvus*, returned to *Gtsañ*. 1574

Khri Tshe *brtan rgya-mtsho* died. Talai Lama *Bsod nams rgya-mtsho* proceeded to Mongolia. 1576

Bstan hdsin phun tshogs of *Mgar* dam was born. The monastery of *Sku-hbum* (Kumbum) was founded at the birth-place of Tsoñ-khapa. Althan Khan received the Talai Lama *Bsod nams rgya-mtsho*, who in the following year founded the monastery of Theg Chhen Chhos *hkhor gliñ*. 1577

Baso Lha *dvañ* became abbot of Chhab *mdo*. According to the directions of the Talai Lama *Bsod nams rgya-mtsho*, the incarnate Lama *Bsod nams ye dvañ* founded the monastery of Thub-chhen Chhos *hkhor* of *Sbom hbor* in Lithañ. 1579

Talai Lama *Bsod nams rgya-mtsho* visited Chhab *mdo*. Internal disputes raged at *Hbriguñ*. 1580

Sans rgyas yeśes gave the vows of monkhood to Panchhen Rinpochhe. *Dpal hbyor rgya-mtsho* became the grand hierarch of *Dgah ldan*. Guśrí Khan of Hor was born. 1581

Dkon mchhog yan lag the Shva-*dmar* Lama died. 1582

The sixth Shva-*dmar* Lama, named Gar *dvañ* Chhos kyi *dvañ* phyug, was born. 1583

The abbot of *Stag luñ*, named Ñag *dvañ rnam rgya*, became abbot in the 15th year of his age. 1584

Mkhas grub Hphags-pa Śakya lha dvañ was born. 1585

Sgam-po Bkraśis rnam rgyal died. Bo*d mkhar* Don-grub died. 1586

Hjam dvyañs rgya-mtsho and *Rgyal-va rgya-mtsho* of *Stod skor* were born. Talai Lama *Bsod nams rgya-mtsho* died. 1587

The fourth Talai Lama Yon-tan *rgya-mtsho* was born in Mongolia. The *Dgah ldan* abbotship was held by Dam-chhos of *Dpal hbar*, and the *Rgyud smad* hierarchical chair was filled by *Rnam rgyal dpal bssañ*. 1588

Blo bssañ rgya-mtsho, the physician of *Gliñ Stod* in *Gsañ-phu*, was born. Khri Byams *rgya-mtsho* died. *Mkhas* Grub Sans *rgyas* Yeśes of *Dven-sa* died. 1589

Dge-hdun bssañ rgya-mtsho, the incarnation of Khri Byams, was born. *Blo bssañ* Ñag *dvañ* of *Sgo-mañ* was born at *Bsam grub sgañ*.

The Panchhen Rinpochhe took the final vows of monkhood. 1590

Yeśes *rgya-mtsho*, the first incarnation of Sans *rgyas* Yeśes of *Dven-sa*, was born. Śar-va Nam *rgyan* of *Rgyud Stod* died. The incarnate Lama *Bsod nams ye dvañ* died. 1591

The *H*brug-pa Lama *D*pag *b*sam *d*vaṅ-po was born. 1592

*B*so*d* nam*s* *d*ge-leg*s*, the second incarnation of *B*so*d* nam*s* Grag*s*-pa, was born. *H*phag*s*-pa *m*thoṅ-va-don *l*dan held the abbotship of Chhab-*m*do. Guśrí of Hor overrun *M*go *d*kar. 1593

*B*lo *m*Chhog *r*dorje of *S*man luṅ was born. *D*pon (Governor) *B*so*d* nam*s* Chhos *h*phel, also called Rab *b*rtan, was born. 1594

Da-yan Khan, son of Guśri Khan, was born. Sans *r*gya*s* Rinchhen filled the grand hierarchical throne of *D*ga*h* *l*dan. 1595

Kun *d*gah *b*so*d* nam*s* the *B*dag chhen (hierarch) of Saskya was born. 1596

Khri *D*pal *h*byor *r*gya-*m*tsho died. Khri Dam chho*s* *d*pal *h*bar died. The abbot of *S*gampo, *B*kra *ś*i*s* Kun grag*s*, died. Kun *b*kra of *S*tag luṅ died. 1598

The Panchhen ascended the throne of *B*kra *ś*i*s*-lhunpo. *M*khan chhen nam *r*gyan died. 1599

Chho*s* *h*byor *r*gya-*m*tsho, the incarnation of Khri *d*pal *r*gyam, was born at Thaṅ-riṅ. Karma *D*vaṅ phyug *r*dorje died. 1600

Khri Nam dag *r*dorje *b*lo *b*ssaṅ don yo*d* was born. *D*kon *m*chhog yar *h*phel of the Sre *r*gyud-pa monastery was born. *B*so*d* nam*s* *m*chhog grub of Shvalu was born. *R*nam *r*gya*l* *d*pal *b*ssaṅ of *R*gyu*d* sma*d* died. 1601

*M*khan-po *B*so*d* nam*s* *m*chhog grub was born. Ñag *r*gyan became grand hierarch of *D*ga*h* *l*dan. The Talai Lama Yontan *r*gya-*m*tsho was brought to Tibet from Hor, and being given the vows of monkhood by the retired hierarch of *D*gah-*l*dan, presided over the monasteries of *H*bras *s*puṅ and Sera. 1602

The tenth Karma hierarch Chho*s* *d*vyin*s* *r*dorje was born.

Chho*s* *d*vyin*s* raṅ Grol, the *R*ñiṅ-ma Lama, was born. *R*gya*l* *s*ra*s* Don *r*gyan-pa founded the *D*gon-luṅ monastery of Amdo. Sem*s* *d*pa*h* Ñag *d*vaṅ Grag*s* *r*gyan died. Yeśe*s* *r*gya-*m*tsho, the incarnate Lama of *D*ven-sa, died. Baso Lha-*d*vaṅ died. *H*phag*s*-pa *m*thoṅ-va don *l*dan died. 1603

Ñag *d*vaṅ phun-tshog*s* *r*nam *r*gya*l*, the incarnation of Sem*s* *d*pa*h*, was born.

*B*lo *b*ssaṅ *b*stan *h*dsin *r*gya-*m*tsho, the second incarnation of *D*ven-sa, was born. Chho*s* kyi *r*gya*l*-po *r*nam *R*gya*l* *r*gya-*m*tsho, the fourth incarnate *H*phag*s*-pa of Kham*s*, was born. Baso-*R*je-druṅ (Lha-*d*vaṅ chho*s* *d*van phyug) died. The fort of *S*kyi-śo*d* *s*gar was destroyed by the Karma armies. Chho*s* *r*gyan, the incarnate Sem*s* *d*pa*h*, died. 1604

Guśrí Khan effected a reconciliation between the Oe-loth and Khalkha Mongols, who were quarrelling on account of a

question of precedence between the grand hierarchs of *Dgah ldan* and of Stoń skor shabs druń named *Rje-btsun* dam-pa. For this service he received the title of Guśrí. 1605

The fourth incarnation of Sems *dpah* Ñag *dvań* phun-tshogs *rnam rgyal* was born. The grand hierarchical throne of *Dgah ldan* was filled by Chhos ñer, also called *Bśes gñen* grags. Khri *Dge-rgyan* died. 1606

Táránátha wrote his *Rgya-gar* chhos *hbyuń* "Rise and progress of Buddhism in India." 1607

Spań dkar Rinpochhe died. 1607

Dkon-mchhog rgyal mtshan, of the monastery of *Sre-rgyud* near *Bkraśis* lhunpo, was born. Dam chhos *rgya-mtsho* of Pa-chhe, the teacher of Sumpa, became abbot of *Stag-luń*. Ñag *dvan rnam rgyal* of *Stag luń* wrote the work, called Chhos-*hbyuń* (history of Buddhism). 1608

Bkra-śis grags *rgyam* of *Sgampo* was born. Don yo*d* chhos kyi *rgya mtsho*, the incarnation of *Rgyal sras*, returned to *Dvus*. The armies of *Gtsań* invaded *Dvus* and withdrew. 1609

The Grva-tshań monastery of Amdo was founded by Likya Ser *mchhog*. 1610

Hdul-va chhos *rje hod rgyam-pa* reduced the monastery of *Sku-hbum* into a *Gtsań* institution. The Karma hierarch Phun-tshog *rnam rgyal* became the lord temporal and spiritual of *Gtsań*. Khri Sans rin died. 1611

The Panchhen Rinpo-chhe presided over the Monlam chhenpo (prayer congregation) of Lhasa between this and the year *earth-horse*. 1612

Talai Lama Yonton *rgya-mtsho* took the final vows of monkhood from the Panchhen Rinpo-chhe. 1613

Blo rgya-mtsho of *Stag brag* filled the grand hierarch's chair of *Dgah ldan*. Phun-tshogs *rnam rgyal* of Gro-tshań ka riń became abbot of *Dgon luń* Byams *gliń*. The incarnate Lama *Bsod* nams *dge* legs *dpal* died. 1614

Talai Lama Yonton *rgya-mtsho* died. 1615

Talai Lama Ñag *dvań blo bssań rgya-mtsho* was born. The Panchhen Rinpo-chhe became abbot of *Hbrags spuń*.

Bkra-śis Phun-tshogs, also called Lha-pa chhos *rje*, held the abbotship of *Dgon luń*. Yap Sans *rgyas* chhos *hdsin* died. 1616

Khri Byams *bkra* was born. The incarnate Yap Lama Sans ye was born. Dam chhos *dpal* filled the grand hierarch's chair at *Dgah ldan*. The *Gtsań* army beseiged Sera and *Hbras spuń*, and killed many thousand monks. Khri chhos ñer grags died. Khri *Blo-rgya-mtsho* died. 1617

The third incarnation of *B*so*d* grag*s*, called Grag*s* *r*gyan of *G*ssims khaṅ goṅ-ma, was born. Chho*s* *h*byor *r*gya-*m*tsho, the incarnate Lama of Thaṅ-riṅ, died. 1618

*B*so*d* nam*s* chho*s* *h*phel filled the grand hierarch's chair at *D*ga*h*-*l*dan.

The Mongol and *G*tsaṅ armies fought with each other at *R*kyaṅ thaṅ *s*gaṅ, where many Tibetans fell. 1619

Khri Dam chho*s* *d*pal died.

Sumpa *s*lo-*d*pon-pa chhe-va a second time held the abbotship of *D*gon luṅ. The fifteenth Ming emperor Then-chhi ascended the throne of China. The Mongols defeated the *G*tsaṅ armies at *R*kyaṅ thaṅ *s*gaṅ, and thereby restored lost territories to *D*ge-grag*s*-pa. 1620

The Mongol *H*phrin la*s* lhun-grub, also called *S*min grol Nomen khan, was born. Talai Lama *B*lo *b*ssaṅ *r*gya-*m*tsho became abbot of *H*bra*s* spuṅ. 1621

The Panchhen Rinpochhe erected the golden spire of the shrine of *B*chug-chig-shal. Grag*s* *r*gya-*m*tsho became the grand hierarch of *D*ga*h* *l*dan. After his death the hierarchical chair was nominally filled by Ñag *d*vaṅ chho*s* *r*gyan.

Khri-Tshul Khrim*s* chhos-*h*phel died. 1622

Talai Lama *B*lo *b*ssaṅ *r*gya *m*tsho took the final vows of monkhood. 1623

*D*kon *m*chhog chho*s* *h*phel became the grand hierarch of *D*ga*h* *l*dan. Panchhen became the abbot of the Byan *r*tse college. 1625

CYCLE XI.

The eighteenth Kulika emperor ascended the throne of S'ambhala. *H*jam-pa chho*s* *r*je (Chhos *r*gya-*m*tsho-va) became abbot of *D*gon luṅ. 1626

This year a little decrease was observed in the solar brightness, and there being an entire eclipse of the moon, the whole phenomenon was considered as ominous by *D*pa*l* lhun of Pha boṅ kha. The sixteenth Ming emperor Khuṅ-tin ascended the throne of China. *D*kon-*m*chhog *r*gya-*m*tsho of the *S*re *r*gyu*d* monastery died. 1627

Panchhen chho*s* *r*gyan built a gilt dome on the monastery of *D*ga*h* *l*dan. 1628

*L*chaṅ *s*kya Chhos *r*je grag*s*-pa *h*o*d* sser became abbot of *D*gon-luṅ. 1628

The monastery of Roṅ-po was founded by *S*ka*l* *l*dan *r*gya-

*m*tsho, also called Roñ-po grub chhen of Amdo. The Shva *d*mar Lama Gar-*d*vañ died. *D*pa*h*-vo *G*tsug lag *r*gya-*m*tsho died. 1629

The seventh Shva-*d*mar hierarch was born. 1630

Khri Chona*s*-pa was born. *R*gya-ra S'e*s*rab Phun-tsho*g*s died. 1631

Sumpa *S*lo-*d*pon-pa Dam-chho*s r*gyal *m*tshan became abbot of *D*gon-luñ. 1632

The incarnation of *S*gampo, called Nor *r*gyan, died.

Khri *B*lo gro*s r*gya-*m*tsho was born. *B*lo *b*ssañ *b*stanpa*h*i *r*gya*l m*tshan was born. 1634

*S*gampo *B*kra *ś*i*s* grag*s r*gyam died. 1635

*L*dan-ma *s*mon lam rab *h*byor-pa (Tshul-khrim*s r*gya-*m*tsho) became abbot of *D*gon-luñ. Guśrí chho*s r*gya*l* entered Kokonur, and defeating the armies of the Khalkha tribes who were inimical to the *D*gelug-pa school, proceeded towards *D*vu*s*, from which place he returned to Kokonur. 1636

*H*khon-*s*to*n d*pa*l* lhun died.

*B*stan *h*dsin leg*s b*śa*d* of Koñ-po became hierarch of Dga*h l*dan, but he could not long hold the office and was obliged to resign it. *R*je-Dge rin succeeded him. The Talai Lama and the incarnation of *G*ssim khañ Goñma took the special vows of *S*ma*d h*dul *d*ge *s*loñ from Panchhen thams cha*d m*khyen-pa. 1637

Ñag-*d*vañ *b*stan *H*dsin *H*phrin las (*S*kyid śoñ shab*s* druñ) was born. *R*nam *r*gya*l d*pa*l h*byor (Chhos-*b*ssañ *s*ku goñ-ma) became abbot of Dgon-luñ. Guśrí chho*s r*gya*l* subdued Beri, the chief of Kham*s*, and annexed his possessions. 1638

S'akya lha *d*vañ wrote the historical work, called Chho*s H*byuñ. King Beri of Kham*s*, being a follower of the Bon religion, was declared a common enemy of the Buddhist religion. He was thrown into prison and punished with death. 1639

*M*khan-po Ñag *d*vañ chho*s* grag*s* died. 1640

*L*chañ *s*kya Ñag *d*vañ chho*s l*dan *d*pa*l b*ssañ-po was born.

*H*phag*s* shi-va *b*ssañ-po, in the 44th year of his age, became abbot of Chhab *m*do. Guśrí khan entered *G*tsañ and captured the king of *G*tsañ and annexed *G*tsañ koñ to his dominions. He was proclaimed king of Tibet. The governor *B*so*d* nam*s* chho*s* phel became regent. 1641

*B*lo-*b*ssañ *b*stan *h*dsin *H*phrin-la*s* of Khalkha was born.

*B*stan-pa *r*gya*l*-*m*tshan of *D*vag*s*-po became hierarch of Dgah-*l*dan. 1642

*H*phag*s*-pi chho*s r*gya*l* died.

*R*gyal-va *r*gya-*m*tsho, the fifth incarnate *H*phags-pa of Khams, was born. Six great nobles of China conspired against the emperor Khruñ tin, and their leader usurped the imperial authority for a fortnight, after which the Manchu chief Sun-t'i Chhi-the tsuñ took possession of the imperial crown. 1643

The famous palace of Potala was built. 1644

The monastery of Ma-*m*gur in Amdo was founded by Lamo *s*prul *s*ku *B*lo-gros *r*gya-*m*tsho and *Hod* sser bkra *ś*is. Khri *d*kon *m*chhog-chhos *h*phel died. 1645

Khri *D*vags po died. 1646

The spiritual teacher of the author (Sumpa *m*khanpo), named *H*jam-*d*vyañs-*b*shad-pa (Ñag-*d*vañ *b*rtson grus), was born. *D*kon-*m*chhog chhos *b*ssañ filled the hierarchical throne of *D*ga*h* *l*dan. Hor Don grub *r*gya-*m*tsho became abbot of *D*gon-luñ. 1647

The abbot of *S*go-mañ, named *B*sam grub *S*gañ-pa Ñag *d*vañ *b*lo *b*ssañ *d*vyiñ chhos, became abbot of *D*gon-luñ. He afterwards accepted the abbotship of Rva-*s*greñ in *D*vus, in consequence of which Don yo*d* *r*gya*l* *m*tshan of Hor duñ succeeded him in the *D*gon luñ abbotship. 1649

Leg*s* *r*gya-*m*tsho established a Tantrik school in the monastery of *S*ku-*h*bum. The monastery of *D*ga*h* *l*dan Dam chhos *g*liñ of *B*tsan-po was founded by the retired abbot of *D*gon luñ at *S*ser khog. 1650

The Talai Lama visited China (Peking), and was there decorated with the insignia of Tai S'rí by the emperor Shun-t'i. 1651

The *S*de-sri*d* (viceroy) San*s*rgya*s* *r*gya-*m*tsho was born. *Hod* Sser *B*kra *ś*is held the abbotship of *D*gon luñ. The Talai Lama, on his return journey from China, visited the monasteries of *D*gon-luñ, &c. 1652

*D*pal *l*dan *r*gya*l* *m*tshan filled the chair of the grand hierarch at *D*ga*h* *l*dan.

Guśrí khan died. 1653

Emperor Khang-shi (*B*de-*s*kyi*d*), known to the Tibetans as an incarnation of Grag*s* *r*gya*l* *m*tshan, was born. S'akya Lha 1654
*D*vañ died.

Tharpa Chhos *r*je (*B*kra *ś*is *r*gya*l* *m*tshan) became abbot of *D*gon-luñ.

The *R*ñiñ-ma Lama (Ssur-chhos *d*vyiñs Rañ-grol) died. 1656

Guśri's son Ta-yan khan became king of Tibet. *H*phrin las *r*gya-*m*tsho became *S*de-sri*d* (viceroy). 1659

Don-yo*d* chhos grag*s* of Lu-hukya became abbot of *D*gon-luñ. 1660

*B*lo-*b*ssañ *r*gya*l*-*m*tshan filled the throne of *D*ga*h l*dan.

The second Manchu emperor Kang-shi (*S*hiñ-tsu) ascended the throne of China. Panchhen *B*lo-*b*ssañ chhos *r*gyan died at Nag-*s*sla. 1661

The fifth Panchhen Rinpochhe (*B*lo-*b*ssañ ye*ś*es *d*pa*l b*ssañ), who was Sumpa *m*khanpás spiritual guide, was born. *S*go-ma*ñ B*sam grub *s*ga*ñ*-pa died. 1662

The incarnation of *R*gya*l sre*s, named *B*lo *b*ssañ *b*stan *h*dsin, arrived at *D*gon-lu*ñ*. The abbotship of *D*gon-lu*ñ* was held by *D*pa*l l*dan *r*gya-*m*tsho of *B*de *r*gyu-chha-va. Hor *D*ka*h b*chu, being invested with the title of No-men khan, returned to *B*tsan *d*gon from *D*vu*s* and established *H*chha*d* ña*n*. The period of Tshul khrim (śíla) commenced. 1664

Ñag *d*va*ñ H*phrin las, who was born in the *fire-sheep* year, and who had previously filled the abbotship of Chhab-*m*do, died this year. Spru*l s*ku grag*s r*gyan died. 1666

*B*lo-*b*ssañ Don yo*d* filled the hierarch's chair at *D*ga*h l*dan. Ta-yan khan died. The *S*de *sri d* (viceroy) *H*phrin las died. 1667

*M*chho*d d*pon *s*de-ba became *S*de-sri*d* (viceroy). 1668

Talai khan Ratna became king of Tibet. *B*lo-*m*chhog of *S*man-lu*ñ* died. 1670

Thu-*b*kwan chhos-*r*je (*B*lo-*b*ssañ rab *b*rtan) became abbot of *D*gon-lu*ñ*. Khri *B*lo-*b*ssañ *r*gya*l m*tshan died. 1671

Khri-*d*kon-*m*chhog chhos *b*ssañ died. 1672

Karma chhos *D*vyins *r*dorje died. 1673

Byams pa *B*kra *ś*is filled the hierarch's chair of *D*gah *l*dan. Likya *D*pon *s*lob *B*lo-*b*ssañ *r*gya*l m*tshan became abbot of *D*gon-lu*ñ*. *B*lo-*b*ssañ *s*byin-pa became viceroy of Tibet. 1674

Ñag *d*va*ñ B*lo-*b*ssañ *r*gya-*m*tsho took the vows of the *S*tod *h*dul *D*ges*lo*ñ of Tibet for individual emancipation. 1676

Khri *B*lo-*b*ssañ of Don yo*d* died. 1677

The layman Sa*ñ*s *r*gya-*m*tsho, who was born in Gro*ñ*-*s*ma*d*, became viceroy of Tibet. 1678

The abbotship of *D*gon-lu*ñ* was held by Rinpochhe *B*stan pa*h*i *r*gya*l m*tshan (chhu-*b*ssañ *s*prul *s*ku). The monastery of Lamo *B*de-chhen was founded by Chha-kwan Nomen-khan. 1679

A long tailed comet was seen from *M*ña*h* ri. Shvalu *B*so*d* nam*s* died. 1680

Klu-*h*bum *r*gya-*m*tsho became hierarch of *D*ga*h*-*l*dan. A fearful earthquake took place in Tibet. The Talai Lama died.

*D*kon-*m*chhog yar *h*phe*l* of *S*re-*r*gyu*d* died. *B*stan *h*dsin *h*phrin las of *S*kyid sho*d* died. 1681

The Talai Lama Tshañs *d*vyans *r*gya-*m*tsho was born. The astronomical work of *S*de-sri*d*, called Baidurya *d*karpo, was compiled. 1682

Khri Byams-pa *b*kra śis died. 1683

After the return of *B*lo gros *r*gya *m*tsho to China, Tshul khrims dar *r*gyas of Chones became hierarch of *D*ga*h* *l*dan. 1684

Lama Rinpochhe *P*ad *d*kar *h*dsin-pa Yeśes *r*gya-*m*tsho was born. The left branch of the Oeloth Mongols and the Khalkhas, being on the verge of going to war with each other, Khri *B*lo-*r*gya *m*tsho reconciled them to each other. 1685

CYCLE XII.

Khri chhen *B*lo-*b*ssañ *r*gya *m*tsho of Lamo of *D*gah *l*dan proceeded to Peking. 1686

*L*chañ *s*kya Tákau S'rí Ñag *d*vañ *B*lo *b*ssañ became abbot of *D*gon-luñ. *B*la-ma *B*lo-gros *r*gya-*m*tsho died at *H*bog khog. 1687

*Bs*tan pa*h*i Ñima (the *R*dorje slo-*d*pon of Sumpa *m*khanpo), who was an incarnation of Khri *B*lo-*r*gyam, was born. 1688

*R*do-pa Rab Byams-pa (*D*pal *l*dan *r*gya-*m*tsho) became abbot of *D*gon luñ. 1689

*B*sam-*b*lo *s*byin-pa *r*gya-*m*tsho of *B*ka*h* *h*gyur became hierarch of *D*gah-*l*dan. 1691

The *B*de-*r*gyu chhuñ-va, named Kun-*dg*a*h* *r*gya-*m*tsho, became abbot of *D*gon-luñ. 1692

The *S*de-sri*d* (viceroy) Sans *r*gya *r*gya-*m*tsho built the nine storeyed palace of worship (Pho drañ-*d*marpo) of Potala. The annual prayer congregation called Tshogs-*m*chho*d* *S*mon lam was established by the *S*de-sri*d* to commemorate the anniversary of the accession of the Talai Lama Ñag *d*vañ *b*lo *b*ssañ. 1693

Chone Tshul-dar became hierarch of *D*gah-*l*dan. 1694

*B*lo-*b*ssañ Ñag-*d*vañ *H*jigs me*d*, an incarnation of *R*gyal *s*ras Rinpochhe, was born. 1695

The *S*de-sri*d* (viceroy) Sans *r*gyas *r*gya-*m*tsho wrote the work, called Boiser shva ser chhos *h*byuñ, *i. e.*, history of the rise of the yellowcap school. 1697

Lama Rinpochhe Ye-*r*gyam of Mon arrived at *H*bras-spuñ. Chhu *b*ssañ Rinpochhe became abbot of *B*tsan Dgon monastery. *B*tsan-po Nomen khan died. 1698

*H*jam *d*vyañs *b*sha*d* *r*dor became abbot of *S*go-mañ. 1699

Don-yo*d* *r*gya-*m*tsho became hierarch *D*ga*h* *l*dan.

*S*tag-luñ shabs druñ Chhos kyi Ñima became abbot of *D*gon-luñ. 1700

Talai Lama Tshañ *d*vyañs *r*gya-*m*tsho renounced the vows of celibacy and monkhood at *B*kra śis lhunpo. 1701

The *S*de-sri*d* (viceroy) Sañs *r*gyas *r*gya-*m*tsho resigned his office. The Mongol prince Lha-*b*ssañ became king of Tibet. 1702

Sumpa *m*khanpo was born. 1703

Pa*d* *d*kar *h*dsin-pa was identified as the real incarnation of the Talai Lama. Lha-*b*ssañ, the son of Rahá *r*gya*l*-po, fought with the *S*de-sri*d* (viceroy) Sañs *r*gyas *r*gya-*m*tsho. The latter was killed, and with him four hundred Tibetans were slain. Lha-*b*ssañ declared himself the absolute monarch of Tibet. The Talai Lama Tshañ-*d*vyañs *r*gya-*m*tsho was ordered to China. He died near lake Khokonur. 1704

Pa*d* *d*kar *h*dsin-pa Ye*ś*es *r*gya-*m*tsho was placed on the throne of Potala. 1706

The Talai Lama *S*ka*l* *b*ssañ *r*gya-*m*tsho was born. 1707

A great earthquake took place in Tibet. 1708

The new Talai Lama and *H*jam-*d*vyañs *b*sha*d* *r*dor were invested with the insignia of an imperial order. *H*jam *d*vyañs *b*sha*d*-pa founded the monastery of *B*kra śis *h*khyil in Amdo. At *D*gon-luñ the Dampa *g*súm (three incarnate Lamas) established the *R*gyu*d* *G*rva (Tantrik school). 1709

Chhu-*b*ssañ Rinpo-chhe, a second time, held the abbotship of *D*gon-luñ. Sumpa *m*khanpo became a monk of *D*gon-luñ. 1711

*H*jam-*d*vyañs *b*sha*d*-pa wrote the work called *H*jig-bye*d* chho*s* *h*byuñ. *L*chañ *s*kya Ñag *d*vañ chhos *l*dan died. 1713

*H*jam *d*vyañs *b*sha*d* pa established a Tantrik class at *B*kra śi*s* *h*khyil, and wrote a chronology of Buddhist events. 1715

The incarnation of *L*chañskya Ye*ś*es *b*stan-pa *S*gron-me was born.

The armies of Chuñgar, or the left branch of the Mongols, slew king Lha-*b*ssañ. 1716

The Chuñgar armies sacked the *R*ñiñ monasteries of *R*nam *r*gya*l* *g*liñ, *R*dorje brag, *S*min gro*l* *g*liñ, &c., and made the *D*ge-lug*s*-pa church predominant all over Tibet. 1717

Under the command of the emperor of China the Talai Lama *B*ka*l*-*b*ssañ *r*gya-*m*tsho was brought to Tibet from *S*ku-*h*bun by Thu-*b*kwan Rinpo-chhe chho*s* *r*gya-*m*tsho and placed on the throne of Potala.

*H*byin *r*gan became abbot of *B*kra śi*s* *h*khyi*l*. *H*jam-*d*vyañs *b*sha*d* *r*dor died. The emperor Khañg-shi died. The third of the Manchu line, called Shiñ-tsu yuñ-ting, became emperor. 1721

The Oeloth Mongols of Khokonur fought with the imperial forces and were defeated. The Chinese killed upwards of seven hundred monks of all classes, including the abbot of Gser khog *d*gon, called Chhu-*b*ssañ rinpochhe, and destroyed many religious objects, and burnt down several shrines and congregation halls. They also demolished three great monasteries of Shva-vo khog as well as many hermitages. Many aged monks of *S*ku-*h*bum were also killed. Sumpa *m*khanpo proceeded to Tibet. 1722

The Chinese, under their generals Kûng and Yo-u the-ü, destroyed the temples and grand congregation halls of the *D*gon-luñ monastery, and burnt thirteen sets of *B*ka*h*-*h*gyur, and killed many monks. The monasteries of the *H*ju-lag Sem-ñi *d*gon schools, recluses cells, &c., were destroyed by them. In the autumn the three hermitages of *D*gon-luñ and Shva-vo khog, and the monasteries of *H*ju-lag were rebuilt. 1723

Sumpa *m*khanpa was appointed abbot of *S*go mañ. 1725

The nineteenth Kulika *R*nam-*g*non señ (Vikrama Siṃha) became emperor of Śambhala. When the demon like ministers (*B*ka*h* *b*lon) killed the viceroy (*S*de-sri*d*) Shañ khañ chhenpo who was a devout advocate of Buddhism, Phola Theje *B*so*d* nams *S*tobs *r*gyas (king Mivañ) returned to *D*vus from upper Tibet with troops of Ladag, *M*ña*h*ri, and *G*tsañ. He slew upwards of one thousand troops of *D*vus and Koñ-po, &c., and entirely suppressed the enemies of the Government. 1726

When the *D*vus people rose in rebellion, Phola Theje, being reinforced by the Chinese troops, killed the three rebel ministers and removed the Talai Lama to *H*ka*h*-*d*ag. *R*gya*l* *s*res *s*prul *s*ku became abbot of *H*bra*s* *s*puñ *B*lo-*g*sa*l* *g*liñ. Phola Theje became viceroy of Tibet, and was also invested with the title of Chun-vañ. 1727

*D*gon luñ, *B*tsan *d*gon and other monasteries having been restored to their former condition, the author's predecessor Sum-pa chho*s* *r*je Phun-tsho*g*s *r*nam *r*gya*l* and *R*bu-chho*s* *r*je *B*lo-*b*ssañ *d*pa*l* became abbots of *D*gon luñ and *B*tsan-*d*gon respectively. 1728

The author (Sumpa *m*khanpo) returned to Amdo from *D*vus in Tibet. 1730

The author founded the monastery of *B*sha*d* *s*grub *g*liñ. 1732

The author accepted the abbotship of *B*sam-*g*tan *g*liñ. 1733

Vañ chho*s* *r*je-grag*s*-pa *d*pa*l* *h*byor became abbot of *D*gon luñ.

At the command of the emperor of China the *L*chañskya

Rinpo-chhe brought back the Talai Lama from *Hgah* dag to *D*vus, and restored peace and prosperity to Tibet and Khams. *L*chañ skya Rinpo-chhe became famous for his excellent exposition of the work called *R*tan-*h*brel *stod*-pa. 1734

Emperor Yung-ting died and was succeeded by his son Chhin-lung. 1735

The incarnate Tha-kwan of *D*gon-luñ, named *B*lo-*b*ssañ chhos kyi Ñima, was born. At the command of the emperor the author proceeded to China. Ñag *d*vañ *r*nam *r*gyal, also called Khyuñ tsha shab*s* druñ, became abbot of *D*gon-luñ. 1736

A great earthquake took place at the walled city of Ñiñ-śa *m*khar, near the mountain called *G*lañ-ru, and destroyed the city. 1737

Panchhen *B*lo-*b*ssañ ye*ś*e*s* died. 1738

The sixth incarnate Panchhen *D*pal *l*dan ye*ś*e*s* was born. *B*de-*r*gyu shab*s* druñ (*D*ge-leg*s* *r*gya*l* *m*tshan) held the abbotship of *D*gon luñ.

*R*gya*l* sra*s* ye grag*s* died. 1739

*B*lo-*b*ssañ *d*pa*l*, *l*dan the incarnation of *R*gya*l* *sras*, was born. 1740

*R*gya*l* tig Rab-*h*byams-pa (*B*lo-*b*ssañ don-grub) became abbot of *D*gon-luñ. 1741

A very long comet was observed in Tibet. 1742

The author (Ye*ś*e*s* *D*pa*l* *h*byor), in the forty-third year of his age, was called upon to fill the abbotship of the *D*gon-luñ monastery. 1745

Inscribed Seal of Kumára Gupta.—*By* V. A. Smith, Esq., C. S.

(With a Plate.)

The first announcement of the discovery of the seal, which forms the subject of this paper, was made by an article entitled "An Archæological Find" in the *Pioneer* newspaper of the 13th May, 1889. The article attracted my attention, and I published certain remarks on it in the issue of the same newspaper for the 28th May, 1889. A few days later Mr. G. J. Nicholls, C. S., Judge of Cawnpore, entered into correspondence with me, and informed me that he was the owner of the seal. He has very kindly allowed me to examine and describe the original.

The seal (see Plate VI) is oval in shape, slightly pointed at each end, and is $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches long by $4\frac{1}{2}$ wide. The edge varies slightly in thickness, but is generally about $\frac{3}{8}$ths of an inch thick. The surface is protected by the rim being raised above the face of the plate about $\frac{1}{16}$th of an inch. The metal is whitish grey, and is thought by Mr. Nicholls to be base silver. The back of the plate is fitted with two solid buttons, each more than half an inch in diameter, by which it could be attached to another object. It probably was attached to an inscription engraved on metal.

The upper section of the face of the seal, being slightly less than one half of the surface, is occupied by a quaint figure of the mythical monster Garuḍa, executed in tolerably high relief. He is represented standing on a base composed of two parallel lines, facing front, with outspread wings. His face is that of a man, broad and full, with thick lips. His hair is arranged exactly like the wig of an English Judge. A snake is twined round his neck, its head projecting above his left shoulder.

A circle, intended doubtless for the discus of Vishṇu, who rides on Garuḍa, is faintly indicated in the field to the proper right of the figure, and a corresponding dim mark on the proper left is probably intended for the conch shell of the god.

A space an inch in length is left blank at the bottom of the plate. The interval between this space and the parallel lines on which Garuḍa stands is occupied with eight lines of prose inscription. The alphabet is that used by the Gupta kings both for coin legends and inscriptions on stone in Northern India. The letters, though minute, are well and clearly cut in moderately high relief, the vowel marks being fully expressed. Most of the inscription is easily legible, but it is damaged in places, especially in the middle of the second and third lines.

The seal was presented to Mr. Nicholls (who accepted it on behalf of Government) by a member of a very old and respectable Muhammadan family residing at Bhitarí near Sayyidpur in the Gházípur District, N. W. P. It was found at some date previous to 1886, when the foundations for a new building were being dug. It is certainly genuine.

The fact that the tablet is a seal is readily proved by comparison of it with similar objects.

The only other known seal of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty is that which is fused on to the spurious copper plate grant from Gayá, purporting to have been made by Samudragupta. That seal is of copper, and is described as follows by Mr. Fleet:—"On to the proper right side of the plate, there is fused a seal, oval in shape, about $2\frac{7}{8}$" by $3\frac{3}{8}$". It has, in relief on a countersunk surface—at the top, Garuḍa, represented

as a bird, standing to the front, with outstretched wings; and, below this, a legend in five lines, which, being also in relief, is so worn that nothing of it can be read except a few disconnected letters here and there, and *Sam*[*u*]*drag*[*u*]*p*[*taḥ*], very faintly, at the end of line 5. It must have contained a succinct recital of the genealogy, after the fashion of the Aśirgaḍh seal of Śarvavarman, No. 47 above, page 219, and the Sonpat seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 above, page 231 The legend on the seal of this grant is in characters which present a very different appearance to those of the body of the inscription; as also does the copper of the seal, as compared with the substance of the plate; and the seal is in all probability a genuine one of Samudragupta, detached from some other plate."*

The copper seal of Harshavardhana, above referred to, is even larger than the one now under examination, measuring $5\frac{7}{8}''$ by $6\frac{7}{8}$. It weighs three pounds six ounces. "All round it there runs a rim, about $\frac{1}{4}''$ broad; and inside this there are, in rather shallow relief on a slightly [illegible] at the top, a bull, recumbent to the proper right; and below this the inscription,"† in thirteen lines.

The Garuḍa device recurs on the seal of the copper plate inscription of Rája Tívara Deva (*circa* A. D. 800), found at Rájim in the Central Provinces. "The top of the seal is circular, about $3\frac{3}{16}''$ in diameter. It has, in relief on a rather deep countersunk surface, across the centre, a legend, in two lines; in the upper part a figure of Garuḍa, facing full front, depicted with the head of a man, and the body of a bird, with his wings expanded, with, apparently, human arms hanging down between the wings and the feet, and with a serpent with expanded hood, standing up in front of and over each shoulder; on the proper right of this, a *chakra* or discus, the emblem of Vishṇu; and on the proper left a *śaṅkha* or conch shell; in the lower part, a floral device."‡

The device on the upper portion of a royal seal was invariably the emblem used by the dynasty concerned as its special cognizance. The seal under discussion and the Gayá one of Samudra Gupta settle definitely that the image of Garuḍa was the family cognizance of the Early Guptas, and so explain the phrase *Garumad-anka* in the posthumous inscription of Samudra Gupta at Allahabad, the bird-headed standard of the Gupta gold coins, and the reverse device of the copper coins. No doubt can now be felt that in all these cases the mythological significance of the bird-like figure is the monster Garuḍa, the vehicle of Vishṇu. The

* Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 255.
† Fleet, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 231.
‡ Fleet, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 292.

form of the Garuḍa-headed standard on the gold coins was, I am confident, borrowed from the Roman eagle, and the form of the device of the copper coins may have been imitated from a Greek original, that is to say, from the owl of Athene, especially as represented on coins of Pergamon.*

Sometimes Garuḍa is represented with human arms, as on the Rájim seal, and sometimes without them, as on the seal of Kumáragupta. The same variation of detail is observable in the case of the copper coins.†

The inscription on Kumáragupta's seals, is, as usual with seal legends, purely genealogical; and the greater part of the record gives the particulars of the Gupta genealogy in the standard form of words employed in the Bhitarí pillar inscription and other Gupta inscriptions.‡

In the beginning the seal omits, between the words *apratirathasya* and *mahárája-s'rí-Gupta*, a string of epithets given in the pillar inscription, but, from the words *mahárája-s'rí-Gupta* down to the name of Kumáragupta in the fifth line, the record is identical (except by omitting Kumára's title of *paramabhágavato*), word for word, with that incised on the Bhitarí pillar. The rest of the newly discovered inscription does not seem to be quite identical with the wording of any known record. A son of Kumáragupta is certainly mentioned, and the name of Kumára's queen, Anattadeví (?), is stated, but I am doubtful whether the name Skanda occurs or not. I can read only partially the 6th and 7th lines. The first four characters of the concluding 8th line are indistinct, but the remainder is easily legible, and shows that the seal belongs to the reign of Kumáragupta, *circa* A. D. 414—452.§

The antiquities at Bhitarí, near Sayyidpur at the eastern extremity of the Gházípur District in the North-Western Provinces, about half way between Benares and Gházípur, have long been known to archæologists. The site was carefully explored more than fifty years ago by Sir Alexander Cunningham and his friend Mr. Vincent Tregear. The latter became the possessor of a valuable collections of coins, many of which are now in the Bodleian cabinet.

The most notable relic is the monolith pillar bearing an inscription of the reign of Skandagupta. A translation of this record, made from Sir A. Cunningham's copy, was published by Dr. Mill in the Journal of this Society in 1837. Certain minor corrections in this translation were

* Smith, *Coinage of the Early Gupta Dynasty* in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for Jan. 1889, p. 24; see also Fleet, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 14, note 3.

† Smith, *ibid.*, Plate IV, figures 8—15.

‡ Fleet, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 53, etc.

§ Smith, *ibid.*, p. 6.

subsequently made, but the inscription was never edited properly until it came into the hands of Mr. Fleet. That scholar has now published (No. 13 in volume III of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*) an accurate facsimile, transliteration, and translation of the document, which I have made use of in writing the above notes.

"The inscription," observes Mr. Fleet, "is one of the Early Gupta king Skanda Gupta. It is not dated. It belongs to the Vaishṇava form of religion; and the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the god Vishṇu, under the name of Śárṅgin or 'the wielder of the bow of horn named Śárṅga,' and the allotment, to the idol, of the village, not mentioned by name, in which the column stands."*

The site is marked by large brick mounds, and numerous bricks inscribed with the name of Śrí Kumáragupta were found in the fields by Sir A. Cunningham, who also describes certain sculptures which seem to belong to the Gupta period.

The presence of Indo-Sassanian coins of the 8th or 9th century A. D. is an indication that the site continued to be occupied after the fall of the Gupta dynasty.†

There can be no doubt that it was a place of importance in the reigns of Kumáragupta and Skandagupta, *circa* A. D. 414—480.

Remarks on the above. (*With a chronological table*).—
By Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle.

The seal is a far more important one than would appear from Mr. Smith's statement of its contents. The fact is that it is not a seal of Kumára Gupta I., but of a Kumára Gupta II.; and that we have in the inscription of the seal, for the first time, a genealogy of the Early Gupta dynasty that enumerates nine generations, instead of only the seven hitherto known.

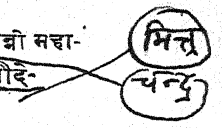
The last three lines of the inscription which Mr. Smith failed to read really contain the most important portion of the record, and contain entirely new information. Nor are these lines more doubtful to read than any of the preceding ones; and most fortunately the names of the kings occurring in them are very fairly distinct. The following is a complete transcript of the record, in Nágarí and Roman. In the latter transcript the less legible portions are enclosed in round, and the illegible portions in straight brackets. It should be remembered, however, that on account of the stereotyped formulas employed in such records, the reading even of these portions is perfectly certain.

* See Fleet, *ibid.*, Vol. III., p. 53.

† Archæol. Survey Rep., Vol. I, pp. 96—103, Pls. XXIX, XXX.

*Nágarí Transcript.**

1. सर्व्वराजोच्छेत्तुर्पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य महाराजश्रीगुप्तप्रपौत्रस्य महाराजश्रीघटोत्कच-
2. पौत्रस्य महा-
3. राजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तपुत्रस्य लिच्छविदौहित्रस्य महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य
4. महाराजाधिराज-
5. श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यान्दत्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्त्वयं चाप्रतिरथपैरम-
6. भाग-
7. वतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्या-
8. मुत्पन्नो महारा-
9. जाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो महादेव्यामनन्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महा-
10. रा-
11. जाधिराजश्रीपुरगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो महादेव्यां श्रीवत्सदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महा-
12. राजाधिराजश्रीनरसिंहगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो महादेव्यां श्रीमतीदे-
13. व्यामुत्पन्नपैरमभागवतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तः ॥



Roman Transcript.†

1. [Sar](vva)-rájochchhettuḥ pṛithivyám aprathirathasya Mahá(rá-ja-Śrí-**Gupta**-prapauttra)sya Mahárája-Śrí-**Ghaṭotkacha**-
2. pauttrasya Ma(há)-
3. [rájá]dhirája-Śrí-**Chandragupta**-puttrasya (Lichchha)[vi-dauhittra](sya Mahádevyáṃ) [Kumá]ra-devyám utpannasya Mahárájádhirája-
4. [Śrí]-(**Sa**)**mudraguptasya** puttras (tat-parigṛihíto Ma)[hádevyán Da](tta-devyá)m utpannas svayaṃ ch('á)pratirathaḥ paramabhága-
5. [vato Mahá]rájádhirája-Śrí-**Chan**(**dragup**)[**tas** ta]sya pu[ttras tat]-(pádánuddhyáto) Mahádevyá[ṃ] Dhruva-devyám utpanno Ma(hárá)-
6. [jádhi]rája-Śrí-**Kumárag**[**u**]**ptas** tasya pu(ttra)s tat-pádánuddhyáto Mahád(e)vyám Ananta-devyám utpanno Ma(há)[rá]-
7. [já](dhirája)-Śrí-**Purag**[**u**]**p**[**ta**]**s** tasya pu(ttra)s tat-pádánuddhyáto Mahádevyáṃ Śríva(tsa)-devyám utpann(o) Ma[há]-
8. (rájádhirája-Śrí-**Na**)**ras**(**im**)**haguptas** tasya (pu)ttras (tat-pádánuddhyáto Mahádevyáṃ Śrímatí-de)-
9. v[ya]m u(tpannaḥ parama-bhá)gavat(o) Mahárá(jádhirája-Śrí-**Kumáragu**)[**ptaḥ**].

* From the original seal; see Plate VI.

† The portions enclosed within straight brackets are entirely rubbed away; those within round brackets are more or less damaged, but sufficiently legible. The *upadhmáníya* is represented by ḥ.

*Translation.**

(Lines 1 and 2.)—The son of the Mahárájádhirája, the glorious **Samudra-Gupta,** who was the exterminator of all kings; who had no antagonist (*of equal power*) in the world; who was the son of the son's son of the Mahárája the illustrious **Gupta**; who was the son's son of the Mahárája, the illustrious **Ghoṭotkacha**; (*and*) who was the son of the Mahárájádhirája, the glorious **Chandragupta** (I.), (*and*) the daughter's son of Lichchhavi, begotten on the Mahádeví KUMÁRADEVÍ,

(Line 3.)—(*was*) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahárájádhirája, the glorious **Chandragupta** (II.), who was accepted by him (*i. e., Samudragupta*); who was begotten on the Mahádeví DATTADEVÍ; and who was himself without an antagonist (*of equal power*).†

(Line 4.)—His son (*was*) the Mahárájádhirája, the glorious **Kumáragupta** (I.), who meditated on his feet, (*and*) who was begotten on the Mahádeví DHRUVADEVÍ.

(Line 5.)—His son (*was*) the Mahárájádhirája, the glorious **Puragupta,** who meditated on his feet, (*and*) who was begotten on the Mahádeví ANANTADEVÍ.

(Line 6.)—His son (*was*) the Mahárájádhirája, the glorious **Narasiṁhagupta,** who meditated on his feet, (*and*) who was begotten on the Mahádeví S'RÍVATSADEVÍ.

(Lines 7 and 8.)—His son (*was*) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahárájádhirája, the glorious **Kumáragupta** (II.), who meditated on his feet, (*and*) who was begotten on the Mahádeví S'RÍMATÍDEVÍ.

All the names of the kings are quite legible on the original seal: quite sufficiently so, to identify them satisfactorily.‡ Of the names of the two last queens, *S'rívatsa* and *S'rímatí*, the two first syllables respectively (*S'ríva* and *S'ríma*) are legible; but the terminal ones (*tsa* and *tí*) can only be faintly seen.

Before discussing the information of this record, some of its techni-

* I follow Mr. Fleet's translation (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 54) as far as it goes.

† Or, "who was himself an antagonist (*of equal power to all his enemies*)," if we read *svayaṃ cha pratirathaḥ*; see below.

‡ The photographic plate unfortunately is not quite as distinct, as one would wish. The original plate requires to be held in various lights, and to be examined with a large magnifying glass; but with these helps there is really not much difficulty in reading the whole of the record, with the exception of those small and unimportant portions (in straight brackets) that are entirely rubbed away (apparently during the process of cleaning the plate.)

calities may be briefly noted. Firstly, the uniform use of the *upadhmániya*, in l. 1, *rájochchhettuḥ prithivyám*; l. 3, *apratirathaḥ parama°*; l. 8, *utpannaḥ parama°*; and secondly, of the doubling of *t* and *dh* when followed by *r* and *y* respectively, as in l. 1, *prapauttrasya* and *pauttrassya*; l. 2, *puttrasya* and *dauhittrasya*; l. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, *puttras*; l. 4, 5, 6, 7, *pádánuddhyáto*; thirdly, the assimilation of the visarga to a following *s*, in l. 3, *utpannas-svayaṃ*; fourthly, the reading *svayaṃ ch'ápratirathaḥ* in l. 3. The same phrase is read by Mr. Fleet* in the Bhitarí stone inscription (l. 4) *svayam apratirathasya*. The phrase also occurs in Kumáragupta I.'s Bilsaḍ stone inscription and in Skandagupta's Bihár stone inscription* but in the former it is illegible, and in the latter it is cut away and lost. There are, therefore, only two records (the seal and the stone of Bhitarí) to establish the reading; and the exact point is whether the *akshara* that follows *svaya* should be read *ma* or *cha*. Now in the Bhitarí stone inscription (at least, as shown in Mr. Fleet's plate) the *akshara* is too indistinct to be definitely identified; while on the Bhitarí seal it is quite distinctly *cha*. Moreover the seal has a distinct *anuswára* over the *ya* of *svaya*, which *anuswára* is apparently also present on the Bhitarí stone; and the *anuswára* only agrees with the reading *cha* or rather *chá*. The vowel mark over *cha* is hardly distinguishable in the present state of the seal; and the reading *cha pratirathaḥ* would also give sense, but a sense not quite so suitable to the context (see the translation, above). It is preferable, therefore, to read *svayaṃ ch'ápratirathaḥ*.

The record gives the names of nine kings, *viz.*, 1, Gupta, 2, Ghaṭotkacha, 3, Chandragupta I., 4, Samudragupta, 5, Chandragupta II., 6, Kumáragupta I., 7, Puragupta, 8, Narasiṃhagupta, and 9, Kumáragupta II.; and it states distinctly that each of these kings stood in the relation of son to the preceding one. It further gives the names of six queens, *viz.*, 1, Kumáradeví, the wife of Chandragupta I. and mother of Samudragupta; 2, Dattadeví, the wife of Samudragupta and mother of Chandragupta II.; 3, Dhruvadeví, the wife of Chandragupta II. and mother of Kumáragupta I.; 4, Anantadeví, the wife of Kumáragupta I. and mother of Puragupta; 5, Śrívatsadeví, the wife of Puragupta and mother of Narasiṃhagupta; and 6, Śrímatídeví, the wife of Narasiṃhagupta and mother of Kumáragupta II.

The two longest genealogies of the Early Guptas hitherto known, are those on two stone pillar inscriptions, both of Skandagupta,† one at Bhitarí, the other at Bihár. That at Bihár is greatly mutilated and

* *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 53; also pp. 43, 50.

† They are given by Fleet in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 47 and 52.

of subordinate value. They mention only the following seven kings: 1, Gupta, 2, Ghaṭotkacha, 3, Chandragupta I., 4, Samudragupta, 5, Chandragupta II., 6, Kumáragupta, 7, Skandagupta. Here again each king is expressly stated to have been the son of his predecessor. They further name the following three queens: 1, Kumáradeví, wife of Chandragupta I. and mother of Samudragupta; 2, Dattadeví, wife of Samudragupta and mother of Chandragupta II.; 3, Dhruvadeví, wife of Chandragupta II. and mother of Kumáragupta I.

In the main these two records agree with that of the seal; and this proves that the seal is that of a member of the great Early (or Imperial) Gupta family. This is shown also by the use of the imperial title *Mahárájádhirája*. But there are two important differences. The first is that the seal calls the seventh member of the line Puragupta, while the other two records call him Skandagupta. The second is that the seal carries the line down to the ninth generation, to another Kumáragupta, and traces it through Puragupta, instead of through Skandagupta. This proves two things: 1, that the Early Gupta dynasty did not terminate, as it has been hitherto believed, with Skandagupta, but that it lasted for, at least, two generations longer (*i. e.*, down to about 550 A. D.); and secondly that there was a second Kumáragupta among the Early Guptas. The latter discovery may possibly necessitate a reconsideration of all those chronological and other speculations which were based on the (hitherto uncontradicted) belief, that there was but *one* Kumáragupta in the dynasty.

The chief difficulty is that with respect to the relation of Puragupta to Skandagupta. Are they but different names of the same person, or was one the (younger) brother of the other?

One point may be noted with regard to these two kings. The inscription on the seal states that Puragupta's mother, and, therefore, Kumáragupta I.'s queen, was named Anantadeví. The two stone inscriptions do not name Skandagupta's mother or Kumáragupta's queen, though they speak of her. In the Bhitarí inscription it is related, how Skanda restored the imperial power of the Guptas, which appears to have suffered a serious reverse during his father Kumáragupta's time; and how he afterwards visited his mother to report to her his victories; but the mother is not named. In the Bihár inscription, it is stated that Kumáragupta married the sister of some person, whose name, however, as well as that of his sister are unfortunately lost in the mutilated record. But from a subsequent equally fragmentary portion of the record (see l. 13 in Fleet's transcript) it would seem that the brother's name may have been *Anantasena*. In that case, his sister would probably have been named *Anantadeví*; and this would agree with the record on the seal. In that case, further, Skandagupta and Puragupta would have had not only the same

father Kumáragupta, but also the same mother Anantadeví. It may be further noted, that while the seal names Śrívatsadeví as the queen of Puragupta, the queen of Skandagupta is nowhere either named or even mentioned. So far as his records are concerned, he might not have been married at all.

The question still remains, are Skandagupta and Puragupta the same persons, or are they brothers? It seems hardly probable that in such genealogies the same person would be called by different names. The probability, as I shall show further on, would seem to be, that Puragupta is a (younger) brother of Skandagupta, and succeeded the latter, who died without issue. There would still be a difficulty in the fact, that Skandagupta is entirely omitted from the list on the seal. But such omissions are not without precedent in lists which are rather intended to record the line of descent than the line of succession.* The term *pádánudhyáta*, however, no doubt, properly indicates Puragupta as having been the immediate successor of his father rather than a remoter successor of him after his brother Skandagupta.

The discovery of this seal solves another mystery. Among the gold coinage of the Early Guptas, certain coins have been found, bearing the name of *Nara* (or *Naragupta*) and the title *Báláditya*.† That they belong to the proper Gupta class of coins, has never been seriously doubted; their resemblance to them is too thorough. But the difficulty was, where to place them; as no member of the Gupta family, called Nara, was known to have existed. It can hardly be doubtful *now*, to whom these Nara-coins belong. They are clearly issues of the Narasiṃhagupta of the new seal.

This, however, suggests a further consequence. Mr. Smith, in his *Coinage of the Early Gupta Dynasty*, has shown (pp. 40) that certain specimens of the Gupta coinage show an exceptionally heavy weight. Some of these coins belong to Nara (siṃhagupta); others to a king of an unknown name who has the title of *Prakáśáditya*; others again to a certain Kumáragupta. The obverse of the *Prakáśáditya* coins would (as usual) give the proper name of the king; but unfortunately in all the specimens hitherto found the name is lost. It may now be suggested

* A very curious, though not quite analogous, case of a similar omission occurs in one of the Valabhí grants (No. IX, in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, p. 66), where Guhasena's father Dharapaṭṭa is omitted, and he is placed immediately after his uncle Dhruvasena I. It is not impossible, that Dharapaṭṭa never reigned; if so, the record is one of the line of succession rather than of the line of descent.

† Mr. Smith denies the occurrence of *Gupta*; see his *Coinage of the Early Gupta Dynasty*, p. 118. But see fig. 22, on Pl. XVIII of the *Ariana Antiqua*. The fact, however, whether the coins do or do not bear the word *Gupta*, does not affect the argument.

that these coins perhaps belong to Puragupta. The heavy coins of Kumáragupta, with the special title of *Kramáditya*, should probably now be ascribed to Kumáragupta II., the last of the list on the seal, and not to the Kumáragupta who is numbered the fourth in the list of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha.*

It is impossible to identify the Kumáragupta II. of the Bhitarí seal with the Kumáragupta of the Later Guptas, although their periods probably coincide. For all the other names do not agree. The later Kumáragupta was the fourth of his line and was preceded by three princes, *viz.*, Krishṇagupta, Harshagupta, and Jívitagupta I., standing in the relation of father to son. It would, then, be necessary to assume that Jivitagupta I., Harshagupta and Krishṇagupta were identical respectively with Narasiṃhagupta, Puragupta and Kumágupta I., which is clearly inadmissible. Or supposing Krishṇagupta to have immediately followed Skandagupta of the early dynasty, and even assuming Puragupta and Narasiṃhagupta to be identical with Krishṇagupta and Harshagupta, there would Jívitagupta still remain to be accounted for, and the Kumáragupta II. of the seal would fall one generation earlier than the Kumáragupta of the later dynasty. Further, the Kumáragupta II. of the seal bears the well-known imperial titles equally with his predecessors of the early dynasty; while the Kumáragupta of the later dynasty, as shown in the Aphsaḍ stone inscription,† lays, equally with his predecessors, no claim even to the subordinate title of Mahárája. They designate themselves merely *nṛipa* or *bhúpati*. It was only the fourth of Kumára's successors, Adityasena (preceded by Dámodaragupta, Mahásenagupta and Mádhavagupta), who was the first to lay again claim to the imperial title of Mahárájádhirája.‡ The seal, thus, decides a hitherto open question and proves that the Later Guptas of Magadha were not direct descendants of the Early Guptas. For the first three members of the Later Gupta line, Krishṇa, Harsha and Jívita I., must practically have been contemporaries of the three last members of the Early Gupta line, Pura, Narasiṃha and Kumára II. And as Narasiṃha Bálāditya is also called a king of Magadha (*e. g.*, by Hiuen Tsiang, see below), it is clear that Krishṇa and his immediate successors can only have been small princes or chiefs in Magadha, by the side of their imperial relatives. Similar remarks apply to the Later Guptas of Eastern Málava, Budhagupta and Bhánugupta.

There are two other references to Narasiṃhagupta, under his title of Bálāditya, in two inscriptions of much later times. The first is the

* See the list in Fleet's volume III. of the *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, p. 205.

† See *ibid.*, pp. 202, 203.

‡ See *ibid.*, p. 212.

Deo-Baraṇárk inscription of Jívitagupta II. of the Later Gupta dynasty. In this inscription Narasiṃhagupta is referred to as an emperor (*parmeśvara*) who ruled long previously. The distance in time between Jívitagupta II. and Narasiṃhagupta would be about 200 years. The second is the Sárnáth inscription of a certain king, Prakaṭáditya of Benares, of the end of the seventh century A. D. Here Narasiṃhagupta is referred to as one of Prakaṭáditya's early ancestors, and as the ruler of *Madhyadeśa* or the central portion of Northern India. This description would not be unsuitable to the ancestral portion of the dominions of the Early Guptas.

The historic truth of the new seal is also proved by the inscriptions on the copper-plate grants of the so-called Parivrájaka Mahárájas, which were all issued during "the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings." The seal shows that the line of the Early Guptas was continued down to Kumáragupta II. The latter must be placed about A. D. 530-550, and the latest of the Parivrájaka grants is dated in A. D. 528. The earliest is dated in A. D. 475; therefore already in the reign of Puragupta (see below). They all fall within the period of the great decadence of the Gupta power; and this fact may possibly account for the circumstance, that in those grants the Guptas are simply designated by the vague term *nṛipa* 'king.' At the same time, Mr. Fleet's observation,* that "they show that the Gupta dominion still continued, and the name of the Gupta kings was still recognised as a power, down to A. D. 528," is fully borne out by the new seal.

I add to these remarks, for ready reference, a synchronistic Table of the probable reigns of the Early Guptas and their contemporaries or immediate successors. The numbers within angular brackets give the known dates, derived from inscriptions and other sources. Various observations suggest themselves by this table.

For an approximate determination of the period of Puragupta and Narasiṃhagupta we have the following data. Hiuen Tsiang relates, how Mihirakula was defeated and taken prisoner by king Bálāditya of Magadha.† This reference,—there can hardly be a doubt—is to Mihirakula's final overthrow in India; for, on being released by Bálāditya, he is said to have retired to Kashmír. The credit of this great overthrow, however, is ascribed to a king Yaśodharman in one of the latter's Mandasor stone pillar inscriptions.‡ In it it is stated that, at some time previous to the setting up of the pillar, Yaśodharman had subdued and extended his dominion over countries which even the Guptas and Húṇas

* See *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 8.

† See Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, pp. 168-170.

‡ No. 33, in Fleet's *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 142.

had not possessed. This inscription is not dated, but its date cannot have been very different from that of another Mandasor stone inscription of Yaśodharman,* dated in A. D. 533-534, because they were both engraved by the same person Govinda. In this inscription, it is stated that Yaśodharman, who was originally only a tribal chieftain (*jinendra* or *narádhipati*), succeeded in conquering the countries around him and thus founding an empire, after which he took the name of Vishṇuvardhana and the imperial titles of *rájádhirája* and *parameśvara*. Of these two inscriptions, the latter would seem to be—if anything—the later in date. In any case Mihirakula's overthrow would fall some time previously to A. D. 533; and it may be set down in A. D. 530, or perhaps even a little earlier.† It follows, that Bálāditya, in whose reign Mihirakula's overthrow took place, must have reigned down to about A. D. 530. The circumstance, that the overthrow is ascribed to both Bálāditya and Yaśodharman, would seem to be best explained thus, that Bálāditya was, at least nominally, the paramount ruler or Emperor (*Máhárájadhirája*), and that Yaśodharman, at that time a mere 'tribal chieftain,' was one of his feudatories or lieutenants, who actually accomplished the defeat of Mihirakula, but thereupon took advantage of his great success to found an empire for himself. In fact, it was probably Yaśodharman (rather than the Húṇas) that supplanted Kumáragupta II., some time after 530 A. D., thus finally breaking up the Early Gupta empire, and building up his own empire on its ruins.

On the other hand Skandagupta's earliest recorded date is A. D. 455. From this date down to A. D. 530 there are 75 years; and for this interval we have three names Skandagupta, Puragupta and Narasiṃhagupta. The interval can be more easily filled up by two generations including three reigns, than by two generations including only two reigns; *i. e.*, by assuming that Skandagupta and Puragupta were brothers, succeeding one another and being themselves succeeded by Narasiṃhagupta. Skandagupta is known to have been still reigning in A. D. 466 or 468. He may have been succeeded by his (younger) brother Puragupta c. A. D. 470, and the latter, c. A. D. 485, by his son Narasiṃhagupta. This would give to Narasiṃhagupta the long reign of about 45

* No. 35, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 150.

† In these calculations I follow, in the main, Mr. Fleet's remarks, in *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 10-12 (Indrod.), 146, 152. But I do not agree with his view about Vishṇuvardhana, *ibid.*, p. 151. (See Proceedings for August, 1889.) It seems to me better to accept the words, in l. 5 of the inscription, in their obvious sense that Yaśodharman is identical with Vishṇuvardhana, and to suppose that Yaśodharman assumed the title Vishṇuvardhana after (and perhaps in commemoration) of his great victory. It is most improbable that the imperial titles of *rájádhirája* and *parameśvara* should be ascribed to a mere feudatory.

years, if he was still reigning in A. D. 530. There is, however, nothing at all improbable in this supposition.

Further, Narasiṃhagupta calls himself Bálāditya on his coins. We have seen that the Bálāditya of Hiuen Tsiang's account reigned down to c. 530 A. D.; and that it is quite possible that the Narasiṃhagupta of the seal reigned down to that date. It may, therefore, be concluded as most probable that the Narasiṃhagupta of the seal is identical with the Nara Bálāditya of the coins as well as the Bálāditya of Magadha, by whom, or rather in whose reign Mihirakula was overthrown by Yaśodharman.

A curious glimpse of Narasiṃhagupta is afforded in a passing allusion, in connection with the Valabhí king Droṇasiṃha, to his suzerain power, the Early Guptas. The early Valabhí rulers, as is well known, were vassals of the Early Guptas. The third of the Valabhí line was Droṇasiṃha, a younger son of the founder of that line, Bhaṭárka Senápati. Regarding this Droṇasiṃha it is mentioned in the Valabhí genealogies that he "was anointed in the kingship by the paramount master (*parama-svamin*) in person" Mr. Fleet* has suggested that this "paramount master" was Yaśodharman, who defeated Mihirakula c. 530 A. D. Now Dhruvasena I. was reigning in 526, as shown by his inscription. Droṇasiṃha was his predecessor; and his accession must, therefore, be placed c. 520 A. D. It is not probable that Yaśodharman was already in 520 A. D. an 'emperor' whose sway extended over the Valabhís. In fact, as I have tried to show, it is more probable, that in A. D. 530 he was still a mere 'tribal chieftain' and lieutenant of the emperor Narasiṃhagupta, and that his great power only dated from that victory over Mihirakula. On the other hand, about A. D. 520, Narasiṃhagupta must have still enjoyed the imperial dignity of the Guptas; and however much it may have been shorn of its ancient splendour, it was clearly still so much recognised by the Valabhís, that Droṇasiṃha got himself "anointed" by the still existing representative of that power. It may be added that the simple reference to the *parama-svamin* or "paramount master" is more easily explainable if applied to the old accustomed suzerain power of the Guptas, than to a new emperor like Yaśodharman.

That notice about Droṇasiṃha's "being anointed by his paramount master" is a rather curious one. His two predecessors enjoyed only the title of *senápati;* he was the first of his house who bore the title of *mahárája* (equal to *mahásenápati*). The notice about his 'anointment' would seem to refer to his elevation to the higher rank of a Mahárája.

* See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV, p. 187, note; also *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 168.

The special occasion or reason for this elevation by the paramount power we are not told. But putting together the scattered historical indications of that period, it would seem that the distinction was due to a striking recovery in the fortunes of the Imperial Gupta dynasty which was mainly brought about by the exertions of the Valabhí feudatories. The circumstances are these. There are three inscriptions at Eran in Eastern Málava,* referring themselves respectively to the times of Budhagupta, Toramáṇa and Bhánugupta. Budhagupta and Bhánugupta were mere second rate rulers of Eastern Málava; but Toramáṇa possessed Eastern Málava as a portion of his imperial dominions; and his inscription is dated in the first year of his imperial power.† It may be concluded, that in that year neither Budhagupta nor Bhánugupta possessed Eastern Málava. The dates of the inscriptions of these two Mahárájas are 484 A. D. and 510 A. D. The first year of Toramáṇa cannot well fall after 510 A. D.; for it can be shown‡ that Toramáṇa was already succeeded by his son Mihirakula c. A. D. 515, and possibly even a little earlier. Again it cannot fall before 484 A. D., because in that year there were living two princes Mátṛivishṇu and his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu, the former of whom was dead in the first year of Toramáṇa. Nor can it fall before 494 A. D., because that is the last recorded date (on his coins) of Budhagupta. It follows that not only the first year of Toramáṇa's imperial power, but also his loss of that power (so far, at least, as Eastern Málava was concerned) must fall within the period A. D. 494-510. Now this is just about the period of the Senápati Bhaṭárka, the first of the Valabhí dynasty, who must have ruled from c. 495-515 A. D. With regard to him it is expressly stated, in the Valabhí genealogical records,§ that he fought with and defeated the "Maitrakas," that is, the Mihiras (a tribal designation of the Húṇas) to whom Toramaṇa belonged. It may be concluded, therefore, that it was mainly owing to the Valabhí victories that Toramáṇa was beaten back and lost his imperial power. The immediate consequence of this success of the Valabhís would naturally have been the revival of the imperial power of the Guptas, that is, of Narasiṃhagupta who was on the throne of the Guptas at that time. The first year of Toramáṇa, say A. D. 495, would be the date of

* See Fleet, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 88, 91, 158.

† See Fleet, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 158. The first year, named in the inscription, is not the first year of Toramáṇa's accession to rule over the Húṇa tribe, but of his assumption of the imperial dignity *(mahárájádhirája)* after his Indian conquests. See Fleet, *ibid.*, Introd., pp. 10-12.

‡ See Fleet, *ibid.*, Vol. III, Introd., p. 12; also *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV, p. 252.

§ See Fleet, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 167.

the temporary subjection of the emperor Narasiṃhagupta, and of the assumption of the imperial dignity by Toramáṇa; and A. D. 510 may be taken as approximately the date of the liberation, by the Valabhí senápati Bhaṭárka, of Narasiṃhagupta and the resumption by the latter of the imperial crown. And I would suggest, that the subsequent elevation, by Narasiṃhagupta, of the Valabhí Droṇasiṃha, c. A. D. 520, to the rank of Mahárája, was in some way an acknowledgment of the signal service rendered by the Valabhí family to the imperial house of the Guptas. Toramáṇa must have died soon after the great reverse he suffered at the hands of the Valabhís. He was succeeded, c. A. D. 515, by his son Mihirakula, who undertook to recover his father's conquests, or, as Hiuen Tsiang puts it in his account, "to punish the rebellion" of Narasiṃhagupta. For fifteen years, as shown by the Gwalior inscription,* he was successful in his operations, till at last, c. A. D. 530, he was totally defeated by the emperor Narasiṃhagupta's great vassal Yaśodharman. According to Hiuen Tsiang, Mihirakula was taken prisoner in the battle and brought to Narasiṃhagupta. On the advice of the latter's mother, he was restored to liberty, but finding his chances in India utterly gone, he retired to Kashmír. This seems to me to have been the course of events in that troubled period of the irruption of the Húṇas into India.†

I should like to throw out another suggestion. In the list of kings of the Rájatarangiṇí, there are five reigns enumerated between Matṛigupta and Durlabha I., if we omit the fabulous king Raṇáditya with his reign of 300 years. Durlabha I.'s accession may be placed in 626 A. D., allowing a probable adjustment of 30 years in the calculations of the Rájatarangiṇí.‡ Calculating a reign at the usual average of about 18 years, we obtain for the accession of Mátṛigupta about the year 530 A. D., *i. e.*, the probable year of Mihirakula's retirement into Kashmir. I would suggest the identity of Mátṛigupta and Mihirakula. There are many points in favour of the suggestion: 1, the epochs of the two kings coincide; 2, the name Mátṛigupta means "protected by the mother," and according to Hiuen Tsiang, Mihirakula owed his life to the intercession and protection of (Narasiṃhagupta) Bálāditya's mother; the name, therefore, would fit him admirably; 3, Mátṛigupta is said to have

* See Fleet, *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 161.

† It may be worth noting in connection with the irruption of the Huns into India in the 5th century, that it followed, by nearly a century, their irruption into Europe. The latter is said to have begun in 375 A. D., under their leader Balamir, and it was most successful under their leader Attila, A. D. 445-453. Their power was finally broken in the great battle on the Catalaunian fields, A. D. 451; corresponding to the great victory of Yaśodharman (or Yaśovarman) in A. D. 530.

‡ See Sir A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 92; also Jacobi in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* for 1888, No. 2, p. 70.

been a stranger to Kashmír; so was Mihirakula; he is said to have been imposed on Kashmír by a king Vikramáditya, also called Harsha, of Ujjain, who is said to have been a powerful king who subdued the whole world and destroyed the Śakas, a Mlechchha tribe. This I take to be a confused version of the fact, that during the time of Narasiṃhagupta Bálāditya, who afterwards allowed Mihirakula to proceed to Kashmír, the Húṇa (a Śaka tribe) were defeated by Yaśovarman, who afterwards made himself an "emperor." Vikramáditya was a common title in the Gupta family; Chandragupta II. and Skandagupta bore it; and the similar title Kramáditya was born by Skandagupta and Kumáragupta II. In the Rájatarangiṇí either Bálāditya or Kumáragupta II. Kramáditya is referred to by Vikramáditya; and this Vikramáditya is said to have died before Mátṛigupta's resignation of his kingdom. As Mátṛigupta is said to have resigned after a reign of about four years, and as on the assumption of his identity with Mihirakula, he became king of Kashmír about A. D. 530, Bálāditya must have died very soon after that year. According to the Rájatarangiṇí, Vikramáditya had a son, Pratápaśíla Śíláditya, who was expelled by the people of Málava, but reinstated by king Pravarasena of Kashmír. Here, again, there is a confused version of certain facts. I take this Śíláditya to be identical with the king Śíláditya of Málava, who, according to Hiuen Tsiang, had lived 60 years before his own time, and who had reigned for 50 years.* As Hiuen Tsiang was in Málava in A. D. 640, the period of Śíláditya's reign is fixed as from about A. D. 530-580. He is commonly identified with the unnamed 'monarch' who is, by Hiuen Tsiang, said to have succeeded Vikramáditya of Śrávastí; and this Vikramáditya himself is commonly identified with the Vikramáditya of Málava, above mentioned.† According to Hiuen Tsiang, Vikramáditya "lost his kingdom" and was succeeded by the unnamed "monarch", *i. e.*, by Śíláditya. I would suggest that Kumáragupta II. Kramáditya is intended by Vikramáditya, who lost his kingdom by the usurpation of Yaśodharman; and that Śíláditya is one of the surnames of Yaśodharman. The latter, in his inscription (see above) is called, at first, only a *narádhipatí*, which would agree with the "monarch" of Hiuen Tsiang. The times also agree; Yaśodharman Śíláditya must have usurped the imperial dignity soon after A. D. 530. He would then have reigned about 50 years, down to about A. D. 580. Throughout the whole of his reign (compare columns 5 and 8 of the synchronistic table), he had rivals for his claim of the imperial dignity in the Maukharí Varmans, till the dignity was finally secured by Prabhákara Vardhana who had

* See Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. III, p. 261.

† See *ibidem*, Vol. I, pp. 106, 108.

the surname of Pratápaśíla. According to Hiuen Tsiang the Valabhí king Dhruvasena II. (or Dhruvapaṭa),* who became king about A. D. 625, was his nephew (*i. e.*, probably sister's son). All this agrees well enough. That Vikramáditya (*i. e.*, Kumáragupta II.) is described as "king of Śrávastí" need be no difficulty. Kumáragupta's seal was found at Bhitarí, in the Gházípur District of the N.-W. Provinces; and Śrávastí may well have been the favourite residence of that emperor. Of course, if my suggestions are accepted, the narrative in the Rájatarangiṇí is a confused, and even grotesque, perversion of the real facts. Śíláditya is said to have been a son of Vikramáditya; this is a confused reminiscence of the fact, that Báláditya (*i. e.*, Narasiṁhagupta) had a son Kumáragupta II. Kramáditya;—Śíláditya is said to have been expelled by the people of Málava; but it was Kumáragupta that was "expelled," *i. e.*, rebelled against by Yaśodharman (Śíláditya);—Śíláditya is called Pratápaśíla; but the latter was the surname of Śíláditya's rival, Prabhákara Vardhana;—Śíláditya Pratápaśíla is said to have been seven times subdued by the king of Kashmír; very possibly the king of Kashmír had to carry on several campaigns against both Śíláditya (Yaśodharman) and Pratápaśíla (Prabhákara Vardhana), both of whom aspired to be "emperors" or "rulers of the whole world." The Rájatarangiṇí's account of Mátṛigupta is still more grotesque. It makes Mátṛigupta to be a poor "poet,"† and finally resign his kingdom and retire to Benares, like a good Hindú! But it hardly needs an excuse for charging the "history" of the Rájatarangiṇí with grotesqueness. The utter untrustworthiness of it down to the time of the Karkoṭa dynasty (Durlabha Vardhana I.), is, I believe, now generally acknowledged. Its treatment of Mihirakula, who under that name is placed at B. C. 707,‡ and of Toramáṇa and Hiraṇyakula, is the most glaring evidence of it.

I add a sketch of what seems to me to have been the fortunes of the imperial dignity during the periods immediately before and after the Húṇa troubles. I have shown them in the synchronistic table by printing in red the names of those princes that bore the imperial title of Mahárájádhirája. From Chandragupta I. down to Kumáragupta II., c. A. D. 360-533, the imperial dignity remained with the house of the Early Guptas. Under Narasiṁhagupta, c. A. D. 495, it was disputed by the Húṇa chief Toramáṇa. About 533 A. D., under Kumáragupta II., it passed away to Yaśodharman.§ From him, it passed, for a period of four

* See *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 267.

† Perhaps a confusion with the poet Meṇṭha (or Mátṛimeṇṭha?) who is said to have lived at his court.

‡ See Shanker P. Pandit's *Gaüdavaho*, Introd., p. lxxv.

§ Evidence of Yaśodharman's or Yaśovarman's imperial power are his coins

reigns, from c. A. D. 540 to 585, to the Maukharí dynasty, under Íśánavarman, Śarvavarman, Susthitavarman and Avantivarman. Three of these Varmans, Íśána, Śarva and Avanti, receive the imperial titles, *mahárájádhirája* or *parameśvara* in two inscriptions.* Susthita is named in an inscription of the Later Guptas without any particular title;† but if he is not identical with Avantivarman—which is quite possible —, he must, in all probability, have been a Mahárájádhirája, as the intermediate ruler between two Mahárájádhirájas (see column 8). That Susthita does not receive that title in the Gupta inscription is no objection; for neither does Íśána receive it; the inscription, being one of the Later Guptas, who were a rival family, probably denied the imperial title to the Maukharís as usurpers.‡

From the Maukharís the imperial dignity passed to the Vardhana dynasty of Ṭhanesar and Kanauj, for three reigns, under Prabhákara, Rájya and the great Harsha, from c. A. D. 585 to 648, though at some time between A. D. 613 and 634 it was disputed by the Early Chalukya king Pulikeśin II.§ After Harsha Vardhana the imperial dignity appears to have been held simultaneously in the West by the Valabhís of Gujarát (commencing with Dharasena IV., c. A. D. 645) and in the East by the Later Guptas of Magadha (commencing with Ádityasena, c. A. D. 648). In the case of the Valabhís, the assumption of the imperial dignity would seem, at first, to have been a temporary one. For after Dharasena IV., who enjoyed it from c. A. D. 645-650, it lapsed again, for about 20 years, during the two following reigns of Dhruvasena III. and Kharagraha II., neither of whom seem to have borne any imperial titles, perhaps owing to the rival emperor's, Ádityasena's, ascendancy. About A. D. 670, however, Śíláditya III. again became emperor of the West; and henceforth the imperial dignity remained with these two

with the legend of *kida* (see *Proceedings* for August, 1888). *Kida* would appear to be a tribal designation of the Húṇas.

* See Fleet, in *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 218, 221.

† See *ibid.*, p. 206.

‡ It may be a question whether Yaśovarman or Yaśodharman did not himself belong to a branch of the Maukharí family of Varmans. There is nothing in Yaśodharman's inscriptions to prove that he belonged to the Málava tribes. His relation to the four imperial Maukharís requires further elucidation. If, as above suggested, he is identical with the Śíláditya, who according to Hiuen Tsiang reigned 50 years, he must have been a contemporary and rival of the four imperial Maukharís. The contemporary inscription of Asphaḍ would certainly seem to show, that the latter did not enjoy an undisputed title to the imperial dignity.

§ He assumed the imperial title *parameśvara* after a thorough defeat of Harsha Vardhana; see *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, p. 164. He had not done so before A. D. 613, nor was it after A. D. 634; see *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 240.

dynasties of the Later Guptas and the Valabhís, apparently, till their respective extinction. Perhaps the coincidence of Jívita Gupta II., the last of the Later Imperial Guptas, with the Nepalese king S'iva Deva II., who assumed the imperial titles, may have a deeper significance. For it may be noted, that about A. D. 648, at the time of the disruption of Harsha's empire, the Nepalese king, Aṃsuvarman, also laid claim to the imperial dignity in the North.

The Devagupta, placed in the third column of the synchronistic table, under the Later Guptas of Málava, is mentioned in the copper-plate grant of Harshavardhana,* as having been conquered by that king's brother and predecessor, Rájyavardhana II. He cannot be the Devagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha (2nd column), as Harshavardhana himself was a contemporary of Mádhavagupta, the grandfather of that Devagupta. Moreover it is distinctly stated in the *Harsha-charita* of Báṇa, that the prince whom Rájyavardhana conquered, was a king of Málava.†

In the seventh column of the Uchchakalpa Mahárájas it will be seen, that S'arvanátha reigned up to A. D. 533. His line, including himself, consists of six members; and the founder of the line, Oghadeva, was married to a queen Kumáradeví. Six reigns at an average of 18 years, would make Oghadeva (c. A. D. 425-445) a contemporary of Kumáragupta I. of the Early Gupta dynasty. It appears, probable, therefore, that Oghadeva's queen, Kumáradeví, was a sister or daughter of Kumáragupta I.‡

* See *Epigraphia Indica*, Part II, p. 74.

† See Sh. P. Pandit's edition of the *Gaüḍavaho*, Introd., p. cxxx.

‡ Mr. Fleet in the *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, Introd. pp. 9, 10, suggests that the Uchchakalpa dates may have to be referred to the Kalachuri era. I do not understand how this could well be. Mr. Fleet says: "if the Uchchakalpa dates were referred to the Kalachuri era, with General Cunningham's epoch of A. D. 249-50, S'arvanátha's latest date, the year 214, would be equivalent to A. D. 463-64, or Gupta Saṃvat 144; and we should have to add on twenty-one years at the end of his known period, in order to make him the contemporary of Hastin in Gupta Saṃvat 165." But the crucial year appears to me to be not Gupta Saṃvat 165, but Gupta Saṃvat 189 (see *ibid.*, p. 110). For the joint-grant of Hastin and S'arvanátha was issued in the latter year. It follows, therefore, that we should have to add on, not twenty-one, but forty-five years; or if the epoch of the Kalachuri era be A. D. 248-49, even forty-six years. On the other hand, if the Kalachuri epoch be placed, as Mr. Fleet suggests, about 25 years later, let us say at A. D. 273-74 (*i. e.*, 248-49+25), then S'arvanátha's latest date 214 Kalachuri Saṃvat will be equivalent to 168 Gupta Saṃvat; and *in that case* we should have to add on twenty-one years, in order to make S'arvanátha contemporary with Hastin in the year 189 Gupta Saṃvat. I *assume*, that when Mr. Fleet (*ibid.*, p. 111) says: "the choice lies only between Gupta Saṃvat 189 and 201," he means, that the only two years within the known period of Hastin's rule

The question may arise whether the Kumáragupta referred to in the Mandasor stone inscription of Bandhuvarman,* may not be the Kumáragupta II. of the Bhitarí seal, rather than the Kumáragupta I., the only Gupta emperor of that name hitherto known. If it be KumáraguptaII., the three Varmans, Nara, Viśva and Bandhu, would have to be brought down nearly a century, so that Bandhuvarman would be the immediate predecessor of Yaśodharman (or Yaśovarman). I am disposed to think, however, that it is really Kumáragupta I. who is referred to in that inscription.

The metal of the seal has been tested by Dr. Scully of the Calcutta Mint. His analysis shows that it consists of

Copper	...	62.970 per cent.
Silver	...	36.225 ,,
Gold	...	0.405 ,,
Iron	...	trace.

In spite of its whitish grey colour, therefore, it is rather a copper than a silver seal.

The weight and dimensions of the seal have been determined by the

(*i. e.*, between G. S. 156 and 191 or A. D. 475 and 510), with which the data of the joint-grant (*i. e.*, the 19th day of the month Kárttika, in the Mahá-Mágha Saṃvatsara) can be made to harmonise, are G. S. 189 and 201 or A. D. 508 and 520. If this is so, the date of the joint-grant is practically certain: it is either A. D. 508-9 or A. D. 520-21, whether these years be stated in terms of the Gupta Saṃvat (189 or 201) or in terms of the Kalachuri Saṃvat (260 and 272). Upon these premises, there are these two alternatives: *firstly*, if we accept the year A. D. 248-49 (or 249-50) as the Kalachuri epoch, the known period of S'arvanátha begins with Kalachuri Saṃvat 193, equivalent to A. D. 441-42, and he must have reigned not less than 67 years, to bring him down to A. D. 508 (= K. S. 260 or G. S. 189) to join Hastin in the issue of the grant; and he must have reigned even 79 years, to bring him down to A. D. 520 (= K. S. 272 or G. S. 201), if the latter be the year of the joint-grant. Neither of these two cases will be considered admissible. *Secondly*, if, as Mr. Fleet suggests, the Kalachuri epoch be placed about 25 years later, say A. D. 473-74, the beginning of S'arvanátha's known period will be A. D. 466-67, and he must have reigned either 42 or 54 years, according as we place the joint-grant in A. D. 508 or in A. D. 520. Either of these two latter cases is possible, especially the former, requiring a rule of (at least) 42 years. But there is no real evidence whatever for the assignment of the Kalachuri epoch to the year A. D. 473-74 or thereabouts. The result is, that the probability of the Uchchakalpa grants being dated in years of the Kalachuri era appears to be *nil*. My premises may be founded on a misunderstanding; if so, Mr Fleet will be able to explain the real facts of the case. But I thought it well to state my doubts, which may have occurred to others beside myself.

* See Fleet, in *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 79.

same gentleman. The weight is 10,696 grains. The measurements are :

Greatest length		5.74 inches.
Greatest breadth		4.63 ,,
Breadth of rim		0.223 ,,
Height of rim above surface of plate	...	0.11 ,,
Thickness of seal (including rim)	...	0.39 ,,

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Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

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Græco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India.—*By* VINCENT A. SMITH, *Bengal Civil Service.* (*With several Plates.*)

Section I. INTRODUCTION.

When the wearied veterans of "the great Emathian conqueror", laden with plunder and sated with conquest, refused to cross the Hyphasis and to try the fortune of war in the valley of the Ganges, the exclusive, conservative East won a victory over the intruding, progressive West, which must have appeared to the actors on the scene as final and decisive.

But it was neither final nor decisive, for, though the obstacles opposed by hostile man and nature could stop the onward march of the Macedonian phalanx, nothing could arrest the sure and world-wide progress of the ideas and culture, which constituted the real strength of Hellas and were but rudely expressed by the disciplined array of Alexander's armies.

India has not willingly sought the treasures of foreign wisdom, and, guarded by her encircling seas and mountains, she has tried, throughout the long course of ages, to work out her own salvation. She has tried, but has not succeeded. Again and again, both before and after Alexander, the barriers have been broken through, and her children, who would

fain believe that all light comes from the east, have been compelled to admit the rays of the western sun.

In the dim mist of prehistoric ages we can discern faint indications that India, in common with all regions of Asiatic and European civilization, drew supplies from those stores of Egyptian, Assyrian and Babylonian antique lore, which were, so far as we know or probably ever can know, the ultimate sources of the knowledge which distinguishes civilized man from the savage.

The history of those long past times is lost, and, save perhaps in some faintly sketched and dubious outlines, can never be recovered.

The Indian expedition of Alexander the Great in B. C. 327—326 was, so far as our definite knowledge extends, the first occasion of close, conscious contact between East and West. The arms of the conqueror, it is true, subdued no more than a mere corner of India, and that only for a moment, but the Hellenic culture, to the diffusion of which Alexander devoted attention, as great as that bestowed by him on his material conquests, long survived his transitory empire in Asia, and, even in secluded India, made its presence felt in many and different directions.

I shall not attempt to penetrate the thick darkness which conceals the relations between India and the western world in the ages before Alexander, but propose to consider the kind and degree of post-Alexandrian influence on the ancient civilization of India, and to invite my readers' attention to an obscure and little known chapter in the ever-interesting history of Greek ideas.

The working of these ideas on Indian soil, although discernible in the fields of religion, poetry, science and philosophy, is most obvious in the domain of architecture and plastic art, and I shall devote the greater part of this essay to the consideration of Indo-Hellenic architecture and sculpture.

No Indian example in stone either of architecture or sculpture, earlier than the reign of Aśoka (*circa* B. C. 260—223), has yet been discovered, and the well-known theory of Mr. Fergusson, that the sudden introduction of the use of stone instead of wood for the purposes both of architecture and sculpture in India was the result of communication between the empire of Alexander and his successors, and that of the Mauryan dynasty of Chandra Gupta and Aśoka, is, in my opinion, certainly correct. The change from wood to stone indubitably took place, and no other explanation has ever been suggested.

I shall not, however, now discuss Mr. Fergusson's theory, but shall proceed to examine particular cases of undoubted and incontestable Hellenistic, including Roman, influence on the Indian development of the arts of architecture and sculpture.

A brief discussion of the more prominent effects of the contact between the Græco-Roman and Indian civilizations on other departments of human activity in India will follow, and will enable the reader to form a conception as a whole of the impression made by the West upon the East during a period of seven or eight centuries. That impression was not sufficiently deep to stamp Indian art, literature and science with an obviously European character, although it was much deeper than is commonly supposed.

Section II. Indo-Hellenic Architecture.

The style of architecture, appropriately named Indo-Persian by Sir Alexander Cunningham, and obviously derived from that employed in the Achæmenian palaces of Susa and Persepolis, was extensively used throughout Northern and Western India for several centuries both before and after the Christian era. With this style of western, though not Hellenic, origin the history of Indian architecture begins. It would be more strictly accurate to say that with this style the history of Indian architectural decoration begins, for no buildings in it exist, and we know its character only from pillars and miniature representations in sculptured reliefs.

The pillars are characterized by "a bell-shaped lower capital, surmounted by an upper member formed of recumbent animals, back to back."* The series of examples in Northern India, of pillars more or less fully corresponding to this definition, begins with the monoliths of Aśoka (*circa* B. C. 250), and ends with the pillar of Budha Gupta at Eraṇ in the Ságar District of the Central Provinces, which bears an inscription dated in the year A. D. 485.† The caves of Western India offer examples apparently rather later, and specimens of intermediate dates have been found at Bhárhut, Buddha Gayá, Sánchi, Beḍsá, and Mathurá, as well as in the Gándhára or Yúsufzai country. But there is no evidence as yet forthcoming that Indo-Persian pillars were used structurally in Gándhára. In miniature, as architectural decorations, they were a favourite ornament in that region.

The Indo-Persian pillar underwent gradual modifications in India Proper, with which I am not at present concerned. On the north-west frontier of India, that is to say, in the western districts of the Panjáb, in the valley of the Kábul River, including Gándhára or the Yúsufzai country, and in Káshmír, it was supplanted by pillars imitated from

* Cunningham, *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. V, p. 185. [For a convenient synopsis of specimen pillars of the Persian, Indo-Persian, Indo-Hellenic (Corinthian) and Indo-Doric styles, see *ibid.*, Plates XXVII, and XLV to L. Ed.]

† All the Gupta dates are determined in Mr. Fleet's work on the Gupta Inscriptions, *Corpus Inscrip. Indicarum*, Vol. III.

Greek models. Isolated examples of Indo-Hellenic pillars probably existed in other regions also, associated with the specimens of Hellenized sculpture which occur at Mathurá and some other localities remote from the Panjáb frontier, but, as yet, none such have been discovered, and, speaking generally, the Hydaspes or Jhelam river may be assigned as the eastern boundary of Indo-Hellenic architectural forms.

The evidence does not, to my mind, warrant the use of the term "Indo-Grecian styles of architecture," which is employed by Sir A. Cunningham. So far as I can perceive, the published plans of Indian buildings show no distinct traces of Greek ideas, and there is no evidence of the employment of the characteristic Greek pediment or entablatures. The known facts prove only that the Indians used, in buildings planned after their own fashion, pillars copied, with modifications, from Greek prototypes.

In the outlying province of Káshmír and the dependent region of the Salt Range a modified form of the Doric pillar was employed. The earliest example of the use of this form is found in the temple of the sun at Mártaṇḍ, which was erected not earlier than A. D. 400, and perhaps should be dated two or three centuries later. Temples in a style similar to that of Mártaṇḍ appear to have continued to be erected in Káshmír down to the time of the Muhammadan conquest of the valley. They are characterized by trefoiled arches, and pyramidal roofs, and were frequently, if not always, built in the centre of shallow tanks. These peculiarities are in no wise Greek. The pillars undoubtedly, as Sir A. Cunningham observes, resemble the Grecian Doric in "the great ovolo of the capital, and in the hollow flutes of the shaft." It is difficult to believe that the agreement in these respects between the Greek and Indian work is accidental, but it is also difficult to imagine the existence of a channel through which the Kashmirians borrowed the Doric form of pillar at a time when every other manifestation of Hellenic ideas had already disappeared, or was on the point of disappearing, from India.

I cannot venture to deny the Greek origin of the semi-Doric pillars of the temples in Káshmír, although I am not satisfied that it is fully established. Even if it be admitted, the admission is hardly sufficient to warrant the assertion that the Kashmirian buildings are examples of an Indo-Doric style. The most that can be correctly affirmed is, that these buildings contain pillars which may fairly be described as Indo-Doric. These Indo-Doric pillars, if there be indeed anything Doric about them, are never associated with Indo-Hellenic sculpture, or anything else which gives the slightest indication of Greek influence. The Káshmír style stands apart, and the study of it throws little light either on the history of Indian architecture, or on that of the diffusion of Greek ideas. I shall, therefore, exclude it from consideration, and

refer readers who may care for further information on the subject to the discussion of it by Mr. Fergusson and Sir A. Cunningham, and to the fine series of plates prepared under the supervision of Major Cole.*

But, whether the pillars of the Káshmír temples be really derived from Doric prototypes or not, there is no doubt whatever that pillars, the designs of which are modifications of the Ionic and Corinthian types, were common on the north-west frontier of India during the early centuries of the Christian era.

These Greek architectural forms have as yet been found only in a very limited area, which may be conveniently referred to under the name of Gándhára.†

The boundaries of the kingdom of Gándhára, as it existed in ancient times, are known with approximate accuracy. Hiuen Tsiang, who travelled between A. D. 629 and 645, describes the kingdom as extending about 166 miles (1000 *li*) from east to west, and 133 miles (800 *li*) from north to south, with the Indus as its eastern boundary. The great city of Purushapura, now known as Pesháwar, was then the capital.‡ The earlier Chinese traveller, Fa Hian (A. D. 400—405), assigns the same position to the kingdom of Gándhára, though he describes its boundaries with less particularity.§

The region referred to by both Chinese pilgrims may be described in general terms as the lower valley of the Kábul river. It is very nearly identical with the territory to the north-east of Pesháwar, now inhabited by the Afghán clan, known as the Yúsufzai or Sons of Joseph, which comprises the independent hilly districts of Swát and Buhner, as well as the plain bounded on the east by the Indus, on the north by the hills, and on the south and west respectively by the Kábul and Swát rivers. This plain, which is attached to the Pesháwar District, and administered by British officers, corresponds to the tract known to the Greeks as Peukeloaitis (Sanskrit *Pushkaláwatí*), the capital of which occupied the site of the modern Hashtnagar, eighteen miles north of Pesháwar.‖

* Major Cole's book is entitled *Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Káshmír*, (London, India Museum, 1869). His plates are good, but his remarks on the dates of the buildings illustrated would have been better omitted. Mr. Fergusson discusses the style in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. Sir A. Cunningham described it in the Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1848, and recurs to the subject in *Archæol. Reps.*, Vol. V, pp. 84-90, Plates XXVI, XXVII; Vol. XIV, p. 35, Pl. XV.

† Sanskrit authority warrants either a long or short vowel in the first syllable of the name.

‡ Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 97.

§ Fa Hian, Travels, Chapter X, in either Beal's or Legge's translation.

‖ Cunningham, *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. V, p. 1. Hashtnagar is described *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 90, and Vol. XIX, pp. 96—110.

Strictly speaking, therefore, the name Gándhára is applicable only to a small territory west of the Indus.

But the great city of Taxila, (Takkhasilá, or Takshaśilá, the modern Sháh kí Dherí), situated three marches, or about thirty miles, east of the Indus, was undoubtedly, in the time of Alexander the Great, the chief city on the north-western frontier of India, and must have been then, as it subsequently was in the reigns of Ásoka and Kanishka, included in the dominions of the government which ruled Gándhára. Kanishka is expressly called the king of Gándhára.*

The vast Buddhist religious establishments at Mánikyála, about thirty miles south-east of Taxila, belonged to the same jurisdiction, and at both places remains are found of that Indo-Hellenic school of art, which attained its chief development in Gándhára west of the Indus. The name of Gándhára, as indicating an artistic and architectural province, may, therefore, be extended, as it was by Mr. Fergusson, so as to comprise the modern districts of Pesháwar and Ráwalpindí, including Taxila and Mánikyála, as far east as the Hydaspes or Jhelam river. When speaking of the art of Gándhára I must be understood as employing the name in its wider sense.

The upper valley of the Kábul river was full of Buddhist buildings, many of which have been explored by Masson and others, and was included in the dominions of Kanishka and his successors. But, so far as the published accounts show, this region was only slightly affected by Hellenic influences, and it must, for the present at all events, be considered as outside the artistic province of Gándhára.

The Gándhára territory, the situation of which has thus been defined, was the principal seat of Hellenic culture in India, and from one or other part of it nearly all the known examples of Indo-Hellenic art in its most characteristic forms have been obtained. Traces of Greek and Roman teaching may be detected in the remains at many localities in northern and western India, but nowhere with such distinctness as in the lower valley of the Kábul river. The Gándhára school of art obviously deserves, though it has not yet obtained, a place in the general history of Greek architecture and sculpture, and this cannot be said of the other early Indian schools.

At Bhárhut, Sánchi, Buddha Gayá, Ajaṇṭá, and Amarávatí proofs may be given that the local style of art was modified by contact with

* A full account of the ruins of Taxila will be found in Cunningham, *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. II, pp. 112, *seqq.*; Vol. V, pp. 66, *seqq.*, and Vol. XIV, pp. 9, *seqq.* Fa Hian states that Dharma Vardhana (or Vivardhana, as Dr. Legge writes the name), son of Aśoka, ruled in Gándhára, and, according to another legend, the stúpa in memory of Aśoka's son Kunála was situated south-east of Taxila, (Cunningham, *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. II, p. 149.)

that of the western world, but the evidence does not lie upon the surface. In the remains of the buildings and sculptures of Gándhára the merest tyro can perceive at a glance that the style of art is in the main Greek or Roman, not Indian.*

* The principal references to published notices of the Gándhára school of art are as follows ;—

(1) *Notes on some sculptures found in the District of Peshâwar.* By E. C. Bayley. With several rude lithographs. (*Journal As. Soc., Bengal*, Vol. XXI (1852), pp. 606—621). The sculptures described in this paper were collected at Jamálgaṛhí by Messrs. Lumsden and Stokes, and were destroyed by the fire at the Crystal Palace.

(2) *Indian Antiquary*, (Bombay), Vol. III, pp. 143, 159.

(3) *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.* By James Fergusson.

(4) *Reports of the Archæological Survey of India, Vol. V.* By Sir A. Cunningham. Volume II of the same series gives information concerning Taxila. See also Vol. XIV, p. 31, Pl. XIV.

(5) *Descriptive List of the Principal Buddhist Sculptures in the Lahore Museum*, p. 11. This list, kindly supplied to me by the Curator, contains brief particulars of 95 specimens, of which 32 are marked with an asterisk, as being either "in exceptionally good preservation, or interesting from their subjects." The list is signed by Sir A. Cunningham, but is not dated. Two specimens are noted as coming from Sahri Bahlol, and one is stated to have been obtained in the fortress of Ráṇigat, but no other indication is given of the localities from which the sculptures were obtained.

I have not been able to procure a "*Memorandum by Mr. Baden-Powell on the sculptures in the Lahore Museum*," which is referred to by Sir A. Cunningham, *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. V, p. 55, *note* 1.

(6) *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum.* By John Anderson, M. D., F. R. S., etc. Part I, Calcutta, 1883. 201 Indo-Hellenic objects are described, *viz.*, 177 arranged under the heading Gándhára, 18 under Pesháwar, two under Mathurá, and one each under Hazára, Kábul, miscellaneous, and Bihár.

(7) *Memorandum on Ancient Monuments in Eusufzai* (*sic*). By Major Cole; being part of the Second Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India, pp. CXIV, *seqq.* This document was separately reprinted at the Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1883. It is illustrated by rough lithographic plates, comprising all the subjects subsequently treated by the heliogravure process, as well as by a map of the Yúsufzai country, and eleven other plans and sketches.

(8) *Preservation of National Monuments, India, Græco-Buddhist Sculptures from Yúsufzai.* By Major H. H. Cole, R. E. Published by order of the Governor-General in Council for the office of Curator of Ancient Monuments in India. Large folio, p. 7, with 30 very fine heliogravure plates, 1885.

(9) *The Buddhist Stúpas of Amarávatí and Jaggayapeta.* By James Burgess, C. I. E., etc., Archæological Survey of Southern India. Trübner, London, 1887. This work does not describe the sculptures, but some good specimens of them are figured in woodcuts Nos. 1, 4, 11, 14, 21, 23, 24, and 26, which are copied from the illustrated edition of Sir E. Arnold's *Light of Asia.*

(10) *Alt- und Neu-Indische Kunstgegenstände aus Professor Leitners jüngster*

No indication of a knowledge of the Doric order of architecture can be detected in the remains of the buildings of Gándhára. With two exceptions, the only Greek architectural form used is a modification of the Corinthian pillar and pilaster.

The two exceptions both occur to the east of the Indus, outside the limits of Gándhára proper.

On the site of Taxila Sir A. Cunningham disinterred the remains of a Buddhist temple, the portico of which was supported on four massive sandstone pillars of the Ionic order. Similar, though smaller, pillars were found in the interior of the building. No part of the larger pillars was discovered, except their bases. The mouldings of these bases are said to correspond exactly with those of the pure Attic base, as seen in the Erechtheum at Athens, the only difference being the greater projection of the fillet below the upper torus in the Indian example.

Portions of the shafts and capitals of the smaller pillars were found. The shafts are circular in section and plain. The capitals were made of nodular limestone, and appear to have been plastered and gilded. They agree generally in form with Greek, not Roman, models, but are ruder and more primitive in style, and are specially distinguished from all

Sammlung, ausgestellt in K. K. Österr. Museum für Kunst und Industrie, Stubenring 5. Verlag des K. K. Österr. Museum's Wien, 1883.

The specimens of the Gándhára school of art preserved in museums are very numerous. The principal collection is that in the Lahore Museum. It is very extensive, numbering many hundred objects, but seems to be badly arranged. I have not seen it. The collection next in importance is that in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Dr. Anderson's carefully compiled Catalogue gives a good idea of its contents. Major Cole intended to send spare specimens to the museums at Bombay, Madras, and some other places, which were, I suppose, sent.

In London the best collection, though not an extensive one, is that which occupies cases Nos 1—7 in the Asiatic Saloon of the British Museum. The South Kensington collection is officially described as comprising 24 sculptures in stone, and 49 plaster casts from originals in the Lahore Museum, presented by Sir R. Egerton in 1882. When I examined the specimens in 1888, they were exhibited partly in a glass case, partly on a detached screen, and the rest on a wall screen. Dr. Leitner's collection at Woking comprises some original sculptures and a considerable number of casts from the works in the Lahore Museum. It is described in the printed Catalogue above cited.

The Museum at Vienna contains some specimens presented by Dr. Leitner, and many examples of the work of the school are believed to exist in private hands both in Europe and India. Sir A. Cunningham possesses a valuable series of photographs of the more remarkable sculptures. Mr. Kipling, Curator of the Lahore Museum, informs me that he intends to arrange for the publication of a set of photographs of Indo-Hellenic art. The specimens in the possession of Mr. L. White King, B. C. S. will be noticed subsequently.

known Greek examples by the excessive weight and height of the abacus.*

The employment of stucco to conceal the roughness of the limestone and to facilitate the execution of the moulding reminds us of the temple of Fortuna Virilis at Rome, where the same expedient was used to complete the decorative work on Ionic capitals made of rugged travertine.†

Sir A. Cunningham subsequently discovered among the ruins of Taxila in another temple the bases and portions of the drums of two Ionic pillars, differing slightly in detail from those above described.‡

These two buildings are the only known examples of the use of the Ionic form of pillar in India.

The rude style of the capitals in the building first discovered—the only ones yet found—might suggest the fancy that the Taxilan temples preserve specimens of the primitive Ionic order in its Asiatic form, before it was developed by Greek skill. But the evidence of the comparatively late date of the temple adorned by these rude capitals is too clear to allow indulgence in such a notion. The building cannot, apparently, be earlier than B. C. 20 or 30, the approximate date of king Azes, twelve of whose coins were lifted out by Sir A. Cunningham with his own hand from their undisturbed resting place below the floor of the sanctum, and under the corner of a platform which had supported a number of plaster Buddhist statues.§ The date of the temple may therefore be assigned roughly to the beginning of the Christian era, at which time, it need not be said, the Ionic order had long been fully developed. The question of date will be considered more fully in a later section.

The Taxilan temples with Ionic pillars were, like all the known examples of Indo-Hellenic architecture, dedicated to the service of the Buddhist religion. Sir A. Cunningham gives a plan of the one first discovered, from which it appears that the whole edifice was 91 feet long by 64 feet broad, standing on a platform, which projected about 15 feet beyond the walls on all sides except the east, forming a terrace adorned with plaster statues. It is supposed that this terrace was roofed in as a cloister. The entrance was on the east, in the centre of one of the larger sides, through a portico supported on four Ionic columns. This portico led into an entrance hall, $39\frac{1}{2}$ feet long from north to south, by $15\frac{3}{4}$ feet broad from east to west. The sanctum or cella of the temple lay behind this, with a length of 79 feet from north to south,

* Cunningham, *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. II, p. 129; Vol. V, pp. 69, 190.

† Burn, *Roman Literature and Art*, p. 204.

‡ Cunningham, *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. XIV, p. 9, Pl. VII.

§ Cunningham, *ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 72, 190.

and a breadth of 23½ feet from east to west. This room, except at the wide doorway, was surrounded by a bench 4 feet 8½ inches broad, and 2 feet high, which supported plaster statues of Buddha, with his hands either resting on his lap or raised in the attitude of teaching. It is remarkable that the hair of these figures was rendered by the conventional curls, which are so commonly associated in later times with Buddhist and Jain art. Unluckily no drawings or photographs of these plaster figures have been published, and it is impossible to say whether they were coeval with the Ionic pillars or not. I should not have expected to find plaster statues at the beginning of the Christian era, and I suspect that the images are of considerably later date than the pillars.

Sir A. Cunningham believes that the roof was constructed mainly of wood, and that the chambers were lighted by windows in the upper part of the walls, which projected above the roof of the surrounding cloister. He conjectures that the four portico pillars "must have been intended to support a vaulted roof presenting a pointed arch gable to the front, as in the smaller chapels across the Indus." A small room, 20 feet 1½ inch long by 15¾ feet broad, communicated with each end of the entrance hall.

The reader will not fail to observe that the plan and elevation of this temple have little in common with those of Greek temples.

I agree with Sir A. Cunningham and Mr. Fergusson in regarding the buildings with Ionic pillars at Taxila as the oldest architectural remains yet discovered in the Gándhára province, and I shall subsequently attempt to show that a considerable interval separates them from the numerous edifices characterized by a lavish use of Corinthian pillars and pilasters.

The fact that the Corinthian pillars and pilasters were used, much in the same way as they are in many modern European buildings, for decorative purposes applied to buildings of native design, and not as members of an "order" in the technical sense, is clearly proved by the manner in which Indo-Persian and Indo-Corinthian forms are employed together. No styles can be more diverse than these, and yet the Gándhára architects felt no scruples about employing them both in the one building, or even in the one sculpture. The first plate in Major Cole's set of beautiful heliogravures affords a good illustration of this purely decorative use of two diverse styles. The subject of the plate is an alto-rilievo of the seated Buddha embellished by numerous minor figures and architectural decorations. The latter chiefly consist of combinations of Indo-Persian pillars with plain "Buddhist railings" and ogee-shaped façades, while the pilasters at the lower corners of the slab have acanthus leaf capitals in the Indo-Corinthian style. This sculpture was probably executed in the third century A. D.

Although there is no reason to suppose that the Gándhára buildings adorned with Corinthian pillars were Greek or Roman in plan or elevation, the remains excavated, especially those at Jamálgaṛhí, prove that such pillars, both circular and square in section, were used for structural support, as well as for sculptural decoration.

No piece of Corinthian shaft has yet been discovered. The testimony of the sculptures is not conclusive, but, so far as we can judge from the miniature pillars and pilasters in the reliefs, the shafts were plain, not fluted.

The incomplete lower parts of the bases of two structural pillars have been found, and a comparison of their dimensions with those of the pillars in the famous choragic monument of Lysicrates at Athens (B. C. 334) has satisfied Sir A. Cunningham that the Indian examples differ from the Greek standard "solely in giving an inward slope to the perpendicular narrow fillet which separates the scotia and torus.

"In both the Indian examples it will also be observed that the torus, or round projecting moulding, is thickly foliated, like that of most of the Corinthian bases. Of the upper part of the base not even a fragment has yet been found; and the representations in the bas-reliefs do not offer any assistance, as they show only one large and one small torus, separated by an astragal, and altogether want the deeply marked scotia which forms the leading characteristic of the Corinthian base, and which is carefully preserved in both of the full-sized Indian specimens."

The foliation referred to is not found on the bases of the pillars of the monument of Lysicrates, and is, I think, purely Roman decoration. I shall subsequently give reasons for dating the Gándhára pillars between A. D. 250 and 350, and for holding that all the Indian buildings adorned with Corinthian pillars were constructed under the influence of Roman art. The remains of structural Indo-Corinthian capitals, found chiefly at Jamálgaṛhí and Takht-i-Bahí, are numerous, but unfortunately are never perfect, owing to the brittleness of the clay slate in which they were carved, and to the practice of constructing each capital from many pieces bound together by iron cramps. The lower portion of the larger capitals, some of which measure about three feet in diameter, was made in from two to four pieces; the upper portion always consisted of four segments.

The British Museum possesses some fine examples of these capitals collected by Sir A. Cunningham at Jamálgaṛhí, and smaller specimens may be seen in the collection at South Kensington. Others are preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and in the Lahore Museum.*

* Plates XLVII—L of Cunningham's *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. V, are devoted to the illustration of Indo-Corinthian pillars. The restoration of elephants on the top of a

Sir A. Cunningham, who was unwilling to recognize Roman influence on the art of Gándhára, compares the Indo-Corinthian capitals with those of "the pure Corinthian order of Greece" as follows :—

"The chief points of similarity are :—

1st. The three rows of acanthus leaves, eight in each row, which are arranged round the drum or bell of the capital.

2nd. The broad, but not deep, volutes at the four corners.

3rd. The four pointed abacus with a curved recess in the middle of each side.

The most marked points of difference are the following :—

1st. The wide spread of the abacus, which is equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ heights of the whole capital, that of the Greek examples being little more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ height.

2nd. The retention of the points at the four corners of the abacus, which in all the Greek examples have been cut off.

3rd. The insertion of a fourth row of acanthus leaves which is projected forward to the line joining the horns of the abacus. The abacus is thus formed from a square having a curved recess on each side of the central projection.

4th. The placing of flowers on the abacus which are supported on twisted stems springing from the roots of the volutes. In a single instance fabulous animals are added to the flowers on the horns of the abacus.

5th. The insertion of human figures amongst the acanthus leaves, whose overhanging tufts form canopies for the figures."

I have quoted this passage in full, not because I attach much value to the comparison made in it, but because it gives an authoritative description of the characteristic features of the Indo-Corinthian capitals. Sir A. Cunningham cannot help admitting the resemblance between those specimens which exhibit human figures among the foliage and Roman capitals found in the ruins of the baths of Caracalla, but avoids the natural conclusion, and boldly declares that, if the design for these capitals with human figures was suggested by any earlier works, "the suggestion must have come from the creative Greeks of Ariana, and not from the imitative Romans."* On the other hand, I am fully convinced, as I shall try presently to prove, that the design in question did come "from the imitative Romans," and that the art of Gándhára is essen-

capital shown in Pl. XLVIII is conjectural, and not supported by adequate evidence. Two of the Jamálgarhí capitals are figured in Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, and a rough sketch of one specimen from the same place is given in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, p. 142.

* Cunningham, *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. V, pp. 192—194.

tially Roman in style. The Jamálgaṛhí carvings date, I believe, from about the middle of the third century A. D., and can be usefully compared in detail only with the similar work in contemporary, or nearly contemporary, Roman buildings. It is waste of trouble to make elaborate comparison of their details with those of the monument of Lysicrates, which was erected about six hundred years previously, but I am not sufficiently acquainted with the minutiae of architectural criticism to pursue the subject further, and must leave to others the task of accurately verifying the various differences and resemblances between the Indo-Corinthian and Romano-Corinthian styles. Probably, however, the task would not justify the labour bestowed upon it. If the Roman origin of the Indo-Corinthian style be admitted, very minute study of variations in detail may be deemed superfluous, great variation in the embellishment of Corinthian capitals being everywhere allowed and practised.

Section III.

The Gándhára or Pesháwar School of Sculpture Described.

A specimen of sculpture, apparently Indo-Hellenic in style, and closely related to the work of the Gándhára school, was discovered at Kábul in 1833,* but the first distinct announcement of the existence of a school of Hellenic art in India was made in 1836 by James Prinsep, the founder of scientific Indian archæology, who published in that year at Calcutta a description, illustrated by rude plates, of the so-called Silenus group procured by Colonel Stacy at Mathurá. This group, though undoubtedly Indo-Hellenic in style, is not the work of the Gándhára school. It will be discussed in the next following section.

The ruins of the monastery at Jamálgaṛhí, north-east of Pesháwar, were discovered by Sir A. Cunningham in 1848, but he did not publish any account of his discovery till many years later.

The first published account of the Gándhára sculptures is that written by the late Sir E. C. Bayley, who printed in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the year 1852 an account, illustrated by

* *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 362, Pl. XXVI, fig. 1; Anderson's *Catalogue*, Part I, p. 261 (K. 1). The sculpture is circular, 15½ inches in diameter, and represents the seated meditating Buddha with flames proceeding from his shoulders, and surrounded by subordinate figures. It was discovered in November, 1833, in ruins two miles south-east of the city of Kábul, enclosed in a large and beautifully roofed square masonry cell, "handsomely gilt, and coloured by lapis lazuli, which is found in considerable quantities in the mines of Badakshán, twelve days' journey from Kábul." Lapis lazuli has also been found on the site of Taxila, and at Baoti Pind in the Ráwalpindí District. (Cunningham, *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. II, pp. 117, 141).

the roughest possible sketches, of some remarkable sculptures found at Jamálgaṛhí. The works, thus imperfectly illustrated, were subsequently brought to England, and exhibited in the Crystal Palace, where they were destroyed by the disastrous fire which also consumed Major Gill's copies of the paintings on the walls and ceilings of the Ajaṇṭa caves.

Prinsep's and Bayley's description of the works of Indo-Greek sculptors failed to attract general attention, probably owing to the extreme rudeness of the illustrative plates. Dr. Leitner, who brought to Europe in 1870 a considerable collection of works of art, to which he gave the name of Græco-Buddhist, is entitled to the credit of being the first to interest the learned world in the existence of a school of Indo-Hellenic architecture and sculpture.

Though the Greek influence on the style of the works exhibited by Dr. Leitner, and on the many similar objects since discovered, is now universally admitted, it is remarkable that, so late as the year 1875, at least one writer of repute denied its existence.

"It has become a fashion recently," wrote the late Mr. W. Vaux, F. R. S., "to extend a Greek influence to districts east of Bactria, for which I venture to think there is really but little evidence. Thus, we are told that certain Buddhistic figures, chiefly in slate, procured by Dr. Leitner and others to the north-east of Pesháwar, exhibit on them manifest traces of Greek art. I am sorry to say that I cannot perceive anything of the kind."*

The Greek influence on the Gándhára sculptures, which Mr. Vaux could not perceive, is so obvious to other critics, that a formal refutation of his ill-founded scepticism would now be superfluous. Professor Curtius has rightly observed that the discoveries of Dr. Leitner, Sir A. Cunningham, and other explorers in the Kábul valley, "open a new page in the history of Greek art."†

The new page thus opened has as yet been little read, and I venture to hope that the following description of a few of the most noteworthy examples of Indo-Hellenic art, and discussion of the sources from which it was derived, may attract both classical and Oriental scholars to the further exploration of a field hitherto very imperfectly worked.

The present section will be devoted to the description of some of the more remarkable and characteristic specimens of the work of the

* *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. XV, N. S., p. 12, *note*.

† *Abhandlung über die Griechische Kunst*, as quoted in Dr. Leitner's Catalogue. I believe the paper was published in the *Archæologische Zeitung* for 1875, but I have not seen it.

very prolific sculptors belonging to the Gándhára school. The chronology and artistic relations of the school will be separately discussed in a subsequent section; at present I shall refer only very briefly to these topics.

The oldest known example of Indo-Hellenic sculpture in the Panjáb probably is the statuette in purely Greek style of Pallas Athéné, the original of which is in the Lahore Museum. Dr. Leitner has a good cast of this work in his museum at Woking, and Sir A. Cunningham possesses a photograph of it. It is shown in Plate VII.

The attitude of the goddess is that represented on certain coins of Azes, which show her helmeted, standing, facing front, crowning herself with her right hand, and holding in her left hand a spear obliquely across her body. The goddess of the coins carries a shield also on her left arm, but the statuette is imperfect, and the shield has been lost.*

The close relation of this sculpture to the coins of Azes proves that it must be approximately contemporary with that prince, that is to say, that it dates from the beginning of the Christian era, or possibly a few years earlier. It therefore belongs to the same period as do the Ionic pillars of the Taxilan temples. The statuette is said to have been found somewhere in the Yúsufzai country, but the exact locality where it was discovered does not seem to be known.

I shall explain subsequently my reasons for thinking that this statuette of Pallas is a relic of Indo-Hellenic sculpture properly so called, as distinguished from the Indo-Roman school to which all, or almost all, the other examples of Gándhára art belong.

The effigy of the virgin goddess of Athens cannot be certainly connected with any Indian religious system, and we cannot say whether the statuette above described formed part of the decoration of a Buddhist temple or not. But in all probability it did, for every specimen of Indo-Hellenic sculpture from Gándhára, the find-spot of which is known, belonged to a Buddhist building of one sort or another.

Most of the sculptures are evidently Buddhist in subject, but some of them, notably the figures supposed to represent kings, deal with secular subjects, though used to decorate edifices consecrated to the service of religion.

* Gardner, *Catalogue of Coins of Greek Kings of Bactria and India*, Plate XVIII, 4. Cunningham, in his *Descriptive List* (No. 21), observes, "The lower right arm, which probably bore the ægis with the head of Medusa, has been lost." This remark is evidently erroneous. The goddess on the coins carries, as might be expected, the shield on her left arm, and grasps the spear with her left hand. Her right arm is raised, with the hand to her head, as for the purpose of crowning herself.

Dr. Leitner and Sir A. Cunningham both consider that the most striking piece in the extensive collection at the Lahore Museum is the figure of a throned king, resting his left foot on a footstool, and grasping a spear in his left hand. See Plate VIII. The upper part of the body is naked, the head-dress is rich, and the squarely cut eyes are remarkably prominent. The work is in good preservation, the right arm alone being wanting. The king's attitude is easy, his expression is dignified, and the outlines of his figure are boldly drawn. Small figures, which have been conjectured to represent conquered aborigines, are attached to the right and left. The identity of the attitude of the principal figure of this fine group with the attitude of the Indo-Scythian kings as shown on their coins naturally suggests that the sculpture represents one of these sovereigns. I do not know where the sculpture was found.*

Sir A. Cunningham found at Jamálgaṛhí fifteen or sixteen statues, some seated, and some standing, which he supposes to be those of kings, and observes that "these royal statues are known by their moustaches, and the numerous strings of gems worked into their head-dresses. The arrangement of the hair is different in each separate specimen, and, as the features also differ, there seems little doubt that they are portrait statues."†

In the case of one statue in the Lahore Museum, (No 6 of Descriptive List, and No. 63 of Dr. Leitner's Catalogue), which Professor Curtius compares with the Greek ideal type of Apollo, the royal character of the person portrayed is unmistakeably indicated by the presence of the regal fillet, the ends of which float loosely behind his head, in the same way as they are shown on the coins of Greek princes both of Europe and Asia.

It is hardly possible that all these so-called royal statues can be intended as ideal representations of Buddha as Prince Siddhártha, before he adopted the religious life, though some of them probably should be so interpreted. Mr. Fergusson suggested that they should be regarded as images of Buddhist saints, and the presence of the nimbus behind the head in many cases supports this suggestion.‡

The presence or absence of moustaches proves nothing, for Buddha is frequently represented as wearing moustaches in the works of the Gándhára school. If the images in question were portrait statues, as suggested by Sir A. Cunningham, they would probably be inscribed. It seems hardly credible that sculptors would execute numerous portraits of Kanishka and other kings without taking the trouble of indi-

* Cunningham, *Descriptive List*, No. 2; Leitner, *Catalogue*, No. 73.

† Cunningham, *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. V, pp. 197, 202.

‡ *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 179.

cating for whom the portraits were intended. I think it more likely that these so-called royal figures are not portraits of individuals, but that they are ideal representations, in some cases of kings, and in some cases of saints.

The museums in London and Calcutta possess several examples of sculptures of this class. Two from the upper monastery at Nuttu are depicted in Major Cole's heliogravure plates Nos. 24 and 25. The statue or statuette shown in the latter plate represents a man of dwarfish figure, standing, as if preaching, with a nimbus behind his head. The legs are thick and badly executed, and the work seems to me to be of comparatively late date, probably subsequent to A. D. 300. This figure, in spite of the ornaments and moustaches, appears intended to represent a preaching saint rather than a king.

The works above described were all, so far as is known, associated with Buddhist buildings, though in themselves not obviously Buddhist in subject. I shall now proceed to describe sculptures, the subjects of which are taken from the rich stores of Buddhist mythology.

The birth-scene of Gautama, or Prince Siddhártha, who in after days won the honourable title of the Buddha, or the Enlightened, is a favourite subject with Buddhist artists, and recurs in their works almost as frequently as representations of the Nativity are met with in Christian art.

Sir A. Cunningham, in the catalogue of sculptures excavated, chiefly at Jamálgaṛhí, under his supervision, enumerates four examples of this favourite subject, two of which are now in the Indian Museum, (*G. 1 and 2*).* See Plate IX, fig. 1. Major Cole gives a plate of a tolerably well-preserved specimen discovered at the upper monastery of Nuttu during subsequent explorations in the Yúsufzai country.†

According to Buddhist belief, Máyá Deví, the Buddhist Madonna, was standing under a *sál* tree, when she gave birth to the holy infant, who sprang from her right side, and was received in a golden net by Brahmá, attended by the *devas*, or angels. This legend appears to be, like the sculptures which express it, descended from a Greek original. Mr. Beal has pointed out that, in several respects, it closely resembles the Greek myth of the birth of Apollo in Delos.‡

The details of the scene vary considerably in different sculptures, but the traditional grouping of the principal figures is never materially changed. The description of one specimen will, therefore, suffice for all.

* Dr. Anderson's *Catalogue*, Part I, pp. 199, 202.

† Seven examples of sculptures of the nativity of Buddha preserved in the Lahore Museum are enumerated in Cunningham's *Descriptive List*, which, as usual, gives no indication of the localities where they were discovered.

‡ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX, p. 68.

On the slab photographed by Major Cole (Plate 11) Máyá is shown, standing, facing the spectator, with her head slightly inclined, and the weight of her body thrown on the right foot. Her left leg is crossed in front, with the toes resting lightly on the ground. In her right hand she grasps a branch of the over-shadowing tree, and her left arm is thrown round the neck of her half-sister Prajápatí, who supports her. The figure of the sister is turned in a singularly awkward posture, so as to show most of her back.* The infant Buddha, springing with outstretched arms from his mother's side, is recognizable, though much mutilated; the figure of Brahmá is almost completely destroyed. The other attendants, who are introduced in some examples, are here wanting. A harp in the upper corner of the composition indicates the heavenly music which heralded the advent of him whose mission it was to still the discords of millions of human hearts.

In this work the pose of Máyá is tolerably graceful, her figure is free from the usual Indian exaggeration, and her expression, in conformity with the belief that the Buddha cost his mother none of the pangs of travail, is perfectly calm. Her hair is richly braided, and arranged in the form of a crown or tiara.

A very finely executed statuette of Máyá Deví, standing alone, which was obtained at the same monastery, (*Cole, Plate* 15, *figure* 2), shows her in nearly the same attitude as in the birth scene, holding above her head the branch of a conventional tree, more or less resembling a palm.

The drapery of this figure is specially elegant. The principal garment is a tunic (*chiton*) reaching to the knees, and confined at the waist, by a rich girdle of four strings, adorned with clasp and vine-leaf pendant. A scarf is thrown lightly over the shoulders, and the legs are clad in loosely fitting trousers of thin material The dress of Máyá in the nativity group is simpler, and consists of an inner tunic or vest, and a robe wound gracefully round the body, and looped up at the waist.

Single figures like that above described are not uncommon. The slight variations in different examples indicate that they were arranged in pairs.†

Religious artists found in the deathbed of Buddha a subject scarcely less fascinating than the scene of his birth.‡

* See *post*, for a parallel from the Catacombs.

† So, at Cave XX, Ajaṇṭá. "Cave XX is a small Vihára with two pillars and two pilasters in front of the verandah. One pillar is broken, but on each side of the capitals there is a pretty statuette of a female under a canopy of foliage." (Burgess, *Notes on the Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajaṇṭá, being No.* 9, *Archæol. Survey of W. India, Bombay*, 1879). This valuable book is out of print.

‡ The *Descriptive List* mentions only one example of this subject in the Lahore Museum, but the collection there probably includes other specimens. The Indian

According to the Buddhist scriptures, he passed away at the age of eighty, surrounded by his chief disciples, shaded by the *sál* trees in a grove at a place called Kusinagara, which has been fully identified as the modern Kasiá in the Gorakhpur District of the North-Western Provinces.*

All representations of the scene agree in showing the master lying on his right side, in a posture of perfect repose, with his head resting on his hand. The number of attendants varies in different sculptures. Plates Nos. 16 and 22 of Major Cole's volume give illustrations of two well-preserved reliefs, obtained respectively at the upper and lower monasteries of Nuttu, which vividly depict the peaceful departure of the great teacher from this troublous world.

The work from the upper monastery (Plate 16) is a sculptured panel bounded by two good examples of the Indo-Corinthian pilaster.

The dying master, fully robed, reclines on a low bedstead furnished with mattress and pillow, by the side of which a tripod is placed, supporting a vessel of cool water. A figure, identified as Devadatta, the malignant cousin, who had pursued Buddha throughout his life with unrelenting hostility, stands at the head of the couch, with an evil expression of satisfied malice.†

A form, apparently that of a female, with her back to the spectator, sits crouching on the ground, and six mourning attendants in various attitudes complete the group. Above the whole hang the boughs of the *sál* tree, the forest king which witnessed alike the advent and departure of the teacher.

The work from the lower Nuttu monastery, reproduced in Plate No. 22, represents the same scene, though with considerable variation in the treatment of details. In this group the total number of figures is increased to thirteen, the most remarkable addition being that of a shaven-headed monk, crawling on hands and feet, and being pulled from under the bed by another monk, who has grasped him by the wrist.

Museum, Calcutta, contains at least one (*G.* 27). In later Buddhist art, as seen at Kasiá and elsewhere, the subject was frequently treated. The death-bed scene has often been incorrectly referred to as the Nirváṇa of Buddha, but the term *parinirváṇa* may be correctly applied to it.

* Cunningham, *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. I, pp. 76—85; XVIII, p. 55.

† The figure is that of a man holding a dumb-bell-shaped object, like a club or conventional thunderbolt, and this figure in other reliefs, for example, in that representing the scene of the elephant doing homage, must certainly be identified as Devadatta. But the appearance of Devadatta at the death-bed of Buddha appears to be inconsistent with the legend referred to in Fa-hian's Travels, which relates that Devadatta attempted to poison Gautama, and having failed to accomplish the crime, "went down to hell."

Both the compositions above described are admirably balanced, and the attitudes and expressions of all the persons concerned are rendered with vigour and truth to nature. The drapery, as usual, is Greek, or Græco-Roman, in style.

The design of these death-bed scenes is certainly an importation from the west. The recumbent figure on the bed surrounded by morning attendants is clearly copied from Greek banqueting reliefs of a sepulchral character, as imitated on Roman sarcophagi. A sculpture in the Towneley collection in the British Museum bears a very close resemblance to the reliefs from the Nuttu manastery above described.* I have no doubt that the Gándhára sculptures were copied from Græco-Roman, and not pure Greek, models.

The figure of the founder of their religion was the decorative element most largely used by the Buddhist artists in all their works, with the exception of the earliest buildings in Bihár, Central, and Western India, where symbols occupy the place afterwards taken by images. In the countries on the north-west frontier of India, the image of the personal Buddha had become an object of worship at least as early as the latter part of the first century A. D., when it was stamped on coins of Kanishka.†

There is, therefore, no reason to be surprised at the fact that hundreds of sculptures from Gándhára, in various sizes, represent the seated or standing Buddha, posed in one or other of the conventional attitudes (*mudrá*), either buried in meditation, or engaged in exhortation. Such figures are often executed in large numbers on the face of a single slab. Multitudes of specimens present the founder of Buddhism engaged with other persons in one or other incident of his ministry or the preparation for it.

A deeply-cut relief, found at the village of Mohammad Nari, and reproduced in the first plate of Major Cole's book, is a good illustration of the oft-repeated figure of the teaching Buddha, who is here shown seated cross-legged on an open lotus-flower, with his feet draped in a gracefully disposed robe. His right shoulder is bare, and his hair is arranged in formal conventional curls, a style which in later times became the only orthodox arrangement for the hair both of Buddhist and Jain statues.

* *Engravings from the ancient marbles in the British Museum, Part V, Plate III, fig. 5, London.* 1826). In this work the Towneley relief is described as being of Roman origin, but it may be Greek. Prof. Gardner informs me that the Greek works of this class are referred to the period extending from B. C. 300 to A. D. 1.

† Gardner, *Catalogue of Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, pp. 130, 133, 175, Pl. XXVI, 8; XXVII, 2; XXXII, 14.

The central image of the composition, the lotus-throned Buddha, occupies a niche formed by a dentilled cornice resting on Indo-Persian pillars. The rest of the slab is occupied by a profusion of "Buddhist railings" and other architectural details, as well as by a multitude of small human figures, which it would be tedious to describe at length.

The bare right shoulder and formal hair might be supposed to suggest a late date, but the style of the architectural ornaments and the fine execution of the work indicate, in my judgment, that it should be referred to the first half of the third century A. D. I have already noted that this slab is adorned with Indo-Corinthian pilasters as well as Indo-Persian pillars.

One of the most elegant images of the standing, preaching Buddha is the small statuette from the Mián Khán monastery depicted in figure 3 of Major Cole's Plate 27. The expression of the face is sweet and calm, and the drapery is rendered in the best style. Both shoulders are covered, and the hair, coiled in a top-knot, is artistically and truthfully sculptured. This work seems to me to be of earlier date than the Mohammad Nari specimen, and is probably not later than A. D. 200.

The fine sculpture from the upper monastery at Nuttu (Cole, Plate 12) shows Buddha, wearing moustaches, and with both shoulders covered, seated cross-legged on a low stool under a *sál* tree, addressing a company of adoring disciples of both sexes.

The balanced grouping of this composition is as skilful as that of the death-bed scenes.

The three sculptures above described belong to the best period of the Gándhára school of art.

A statuette of the seated Buddha, about 13 inches in height, executed in blue slate, is shown in Plate IX, fig. 2, and is an example of the school in its decadence. A similar statuette was obtained at Ráṇígat,* and is fairly good work, though not of the best style.

Another statuette of the seated Buddha, found at Sháh kí dherí, the ancient Taxila by Mr. L. White King, seems to be of comparatively late date, having a Hindú, rather than a Buddhist appearance.

* The great fortress of Ránígat, (also known by the names of Nográm, or Navagrám, and Bágrám), is situated sixteen miles north of Ohind, and just beyond the British frontier. Tribal feuds render the place difficult of access, and, when Mr. King visited it, he required the protection of a strong escort. The ruins have, consequently, never been thoroughly explored. Sir A. Cunningham gives weighty reasons for identifying the site with Aornos, the stronghold which resisted Alexander. The surface of the various courtyards is covered with fragments of "statues of all sizes, and in all positions." *(Archæol Rep., Vol. II, pp.* 96—111; *V, p.* 55*)*. Major Cole in his Second Report notes the existence of seven topes or *stúpas* within the limits of the fortress, and gives a rough plan on a very small scale.

The foregoing descriptions prove that during the most flourishing period of Gándhára art, which I assign to the years between A. D. 200 and 350, the conventional representation of Buddha had not been finally determined, and that it was legitimate to make his image either with or without moustaches, and with the right shoulder either bare or draped. The figure of Buddha on the Amarávatí slab No. 11 exhibited on the British Museum staircase has both shoulders draped, but in Buddhist art, as a rule, the founder of the religion is represented with the right shoulder uncovered, and without moustaches.

It has also been shown that the artists of Gándhára were at liberty to give Buddha either the formally curled hair, which in later times became an indispensable attribute, or to carve his hair artistically in accordance with nature.

The treatment of the hair both of Buddha and other personages in most of the good sculptures from Gándhára is so artistic, and so far superior to the feeble conventionalism of ordinary Indian art, that it may be well to dwell on the subject for a moment.

I agree with Dr. Anderson, in the opinion expressed by him that the woolly hair like that of a negro, arranged in stiff, formal, little curls which is characteristic of the Jain images executed in the tenth and subsequent centuries, and of many Buddhist statues of earlier date, does not indicate, as has been supposed, any racial peculiarity of the Jain and Buddhist saints, but is purely conventional.

Dr. Anderson suggests that this mode of representing the hair is merely an archaistic survival, and that "the hair of the Blessed One having once been carved in this depraved fashion, it was slavishly followed after, with a few exceptions, among which were the sculptors of Gándhára."*

The exact origin of this archaistic treatment of the hair does not at present appear to be traceable, but, whether it be ever discovered or not, it is probable that the explanation suggested above, is, in general terms, the correct one, and that there is no occasion for holding with Mr. Fergusson, that "it has ever been one of the puzzles of Buddhism that the founder of the religion should always have been represented in sculpture with woolly hair like that of a negro."†

As a matter of fact he is not always so represented, nor is the woolly hair peculiar to his images. The puzzle, if it be a puzzle, is one in the history of art, not in the history of religion.

The archaic 'wiry' style of representing the hair was maintained

* Anderson's *Catalogue*, Part I, p. 259. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 175; and *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX, p. 116.

† *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 2nd ed., p. 135.

by Greek artists in bronze longer than in marble,* and this observation may possibly serve as the explanation of the woolly-haired Buddhas, which may be conjectured to have been derived from a bronze prototype.

I cannot venture on trying the patience of my readers by describing even a few of the many friezes and panels which vividly present incidents of Buddha's life and preaching, such as his visits to ascetics and Nága kings, and his miraculous escapes from the snares laid by Devadatta. The compositions are like most Roman work, generally crowded with figures, which it would be tedious to describe in detail. Good illustrations of several are given in Major Cole's Plates.

A blue slate panel, about 13 inches in height, representing in high relief a *chaitya* front filled with small figures of Buddha and worshippers, the original of which is in the Lahore Museum, a cast being in Calcutta, is reproduced in Plate IX, fig. 3, and is a fair example of a very numerous class of works.

The sculptors of Gándhára were not restricted in their choice of religious subjects to the birth, death, meditation, miracles, and preaching of Gautama.

At the time when they flourished, Buddhist literature had attained vast dimensions, and offered, in the collections of *Játakas*, or Birth-stories relating to the adventures of the Buddha in his previous births, an inexhaustible treasury of subjects for the art of the painter and the sculptor.

That subjects of this class frequently formed the theme of the Græco-Buddhist artists can be perceived from the mutilated extant fragments of their compositions, though the brittleness of the stone in which their works were generally executed is such that few of the innumerable friezes which decorated the buildings of Gándhára have been preserved in a condition sufficiently perfect to permit of their story being clearly read.

The best preserved connected series of story-telling sculptures is that which adorned the risers of the sixteen steps leading to the central *stúpa* of the monastery at Jamálgaṛhí, excavated by Lieut. Crompton and Sir A. Cunningham.†

* Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 351.

† Lieutenant Crompton's report has not, so far as I am aware, been printed in full. Its substance is given in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, p. 143. The friezes of the risers are the only sculptures found in their original position at Jamálgaṛhí. All the others had been thrown down, and "in many cases large and heavy fragments of the same sculpture were found far apart." Lieut. Crompton hence concluded that the buildings had been "destroyed by design, and not by natural decay." Sir A. Cunningham's catalogue of the sculptures of the risers arranged in the order of the steps is given in *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. V, p. 199.

These reliefs excited the warm admiration of Mr. Fergusson, and are certainly deserving of high praise.* Unfortunately they are far from complete. The surviving portions, however, are of considerable extent, and are available for study in Cases 1—3 of the Asiatic Saloon in the British Museum. The arrangement in the museum is arbitrary, and determined rather by the dimensions of the cases than by the order of the steps, or the subject of the sculptures.

When first discovered the series was more nearly perfect, and the discoverer was able to recognize two *Játakas* or Birth-stories, the *Wessantara* and the *Sáma*.

The latter may be read pretty clearly from the remains in the British Museum (Cases 1—3, tier No. 4). The recognizable scenes are briefly described by Sir A. Cunningham as follows:—

"1.—The young lad, son of blind parents, filling a vessel with water from a lake frequented by deer.

2.—The youth, shot accidentally by the Rájá of Benares, who aimed at the deer, is lying on the ground with an arrow sticking in his side.

3.—The Rájá in a pensive attitude, his head resting on his hand, promises to take care of the lad's parents.

4.—The Rájá presents a vessel of water to the blind parents.

5.—The Rájá leads the two blind people by the hand to the spot where their child's body is lying.

6.—The youth restored to life."

This story occupied the eighth step of the staircase. The *Wessantara Játaka*, which adorned the fourth step, is exhibited on the fifth tier from the top of the British Museum arrangement.

The extremely small scale of these sculptures, which are only about eight inches high, interferes with the correct proportional rendering of the several parts. The trees, for instance, are altogether out of scale. But, when allowance is made for this defect, which is unavoidable in the execution of complicated designs crowded into a space so limited, these reliefs may rightly be held to deserve much praise for their vigour of execution, and for their realistic fidelity to nature.

An exhaustive description of the various scenes and multitudinous figures in the *alti-relievi* of the Jamálgarhí staircase would task too severely the patience of the most conscientious reader, but a brief discussion of some of their more interesting features may not be unwelcome.

The uppermost tier in the museum arrangement comprises ten small panels, divided one from the other by broad Corinthian pilasters.

* *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 173.

Six of these panels, (from the third step of the staircase), are occupied by female busts with the arms raised, and having acanthus leaves extended like wings from the waist on each side. These little figures at once remind the spectator of the angels with which he is familiar in Christian art. It is quite possible that the sculptors of Gándhára may have picked up some hints from artists connected with the churches of Asia Minor and Syria, and I have a suspicion that they did so, though I cannot offer any decisive proof of the supposed fact. I have no doubt that a real connection exists between early Christian art and the Gándhára school. The four remaining panels (from the fifteenth step) contain each a grotesque bust terminating in two scaly tails.

Above these panels nine remarkable Atlantean statuettes are exhibited, which form, apparently, part of a set of twenty-three obtained at Jamálgarhí by Sir A. Cunningham. He supposes that they "filled the spaces between the large dentils which supported the heavy mouldings of the *stúpas*,"* or, as he elsewhere expresses himself, that "they were arranged in rows to support the lowermost moulding of a building. The figures were generally separated by pilasters."†

Numbers of similar figures have been found. Most commonly they are about eight inches high, but they vary in height from four to eighteen inches.‡

The British Museum specimens range in height from about seven to nine inches. All the figures are in a sitting posture, though the attitude varies. One figure crouches like Atlas, as if oppressed under the burden of a heavy load, while the attitudes of the others seem to express repose rather than the endurance of crushing pressure. Some of the faces are bearded, and some are not. The facial expression is freely varied, and rendered with great spirit and vigour. The muscles of the chest and abdomen are fully and truthfully displayed, with a tendency to exaggeration, and a pair of expanded wings is attached to the shoulders of each statuette.

A group of wrestlers (*G.* 82 *Calcutta*), and a composition (*G.* 89 *Calcutta*), catalogued by Sir A. Cunningham as "Herakles fighting with a snake-legged giant," both of which were found at Jamálgarhí, are executed in the same style. The latter work (Plate IX, fig. 4) is

* *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. V, p. 198.

† *Descriptive List*, p. 2.

‡ *Descriptive List*, and *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, p. 144 Sixteen statuettes of this class are in the Calcutta Museum (*G.* 81 *and* 83). A feeble terracotta imitation of the design has been found far away eastward in the Bogra (Bagrahá) District of Lower Bengal. (*Mn.*, 1, in Anderson's *Catalogue*).

thus described by Dr. Anderson in his Catalogue (Part I, p. 240):—"A triangular fragment, with two figures in relief, one lying on the ground with its back towards the spectator, the upper portion being the body of a human being, but the legs terminate from the hips downward in two snake-like coils; the other figure, which is quite nude, has grasped the end of the left coil with his right hand, while with his left hand he has seized the head of the monster, which swings a heavy club to destroy his foe."

I think that it is impossible to doubt that the group last described is a Buddhist adaptation of the Greek myth of the Gigantomachia, the battle of the gods and giants, which continued for centuries to be a favourite subject of Greek and Roman sculptors and gem-engravers. In Greek and Roman art the giants are represented as winged, and snake-legged, and their figures are generally characterized by exaggerated development of the muscles.

No Indian example appears to reproduce exactly the conventional form of the Greek giant, but the characteristics of that form are all found in the Jamálgaṛhí carvings, though not all combined in a single figure.

The action of the group which Sir A. Cunningham rather rashly entitles "Herakles fighting with a snake-legged giant" is obviously the same as that of the Greek representations of the Gigantomachia, and the very peculiar conception of the snake-legged giant cannot have been independently invented by the Jamálgaṛhí sculptors. In this case the wings seem to be wanting, but the Atlantean statuettes, which have not the snake legs, are fitted with wings, and display the exaggerated muscular development of the pattern Greek giant. The little figures with tails, from the fifteenth step, appear related rather to the Tritons than the Giants. Their tails seem to be intended rather for those of fishes than to represent snakes.

The Gigantomachia was so frequently the subject of Greek and Roman works of art that it is impossible to name the precise channel by which a knowledge of it reached India. One of the finest examples of the treatment of the subject is the principal frieze of the great altar of Pergamon, the giants of which are winged, snake-legged, and provided with enormously developed muscles.* It is quite possible that the fame of this great composition may have spread through Asia, and stimulated the imitative faculties of a host of minor artists, including those of Gándhára, but the Gigantomachia was such a hackneyed subject that we cannot venture to name any particular example of its

* Casts of the Pergamene frieze are at South Kensington. Engravings of it will be found in many recent books, *e. g.* Perry's *History of Greek and Roman Sculpture.*

treatment as the model of the miniature, and comparatively feeble, adaptations of it by the Indian sculptors. The influence of Rome on the sculptures at Jamálgaṛhí, and the other works of the Gándhára school, belonging to the same period, is so strongly marked that the most probable conclusion is that the Indians derived their knowledge of the artistic use of the Gigantomachia from Roman copies of Greek works.

I strongly suspect that the Indians borrowed from the Greeks the giants themselves as well as the sculptured representations of their battles. The Asuras of Hindú post-Vedic mythology are described as fierce demons, enemies of the gods, and correspond closely with the Greek giants. Recent research has proved, or at least rendered probable, the existence of so much Greek, and even Christian, influence on the development of Hindú mythology that the borrowing of the conception of giants, enemies of the gods, offers no improbability.

Whether the Buddhist sculptors of the Kábul valley intended their snake-legged or winged monsters to be images of Asuras, or merely used them as conventional imitative decoration I cannot undertake to determine.

A group, frequently recurring in Gándhára art, of which four examples have been photographed by Major Cole (Plates 1, 2, 4, and 17), and one is in the Woking Museum, can be demonstrated to be an adaptation of a famous composition by a known Greek artist. Another of the ultimate Greek sources from which the sculptors of Gándhára derived their inspiration is thus determined with certainty. I shall discuss this case with some fulness of detail.

The group referred to represents a plump young woman, fully draped, standing, held in the grasp of an eagle with expanded wings, and is reasonably conjectured to represent the translation to heaven of Máyá Deví, the mother of Buddha, in order that she might be born again, as related in the Buddhist scriptures. However this may be, it is quite impossible to doubt the correctness of Sir A. Cunningham's opinion, as quoted by Major Cole, that the composition in question is an adaptation of the Rape of Ganymede, a favourite subject of the later Greek artists, and of their Roman imitators.

The bronze work on this theme by Leochares (B. C. 372-330) was considered a masterpiece of that famous artist of the later Attic school, and was praised with enthusiasm by Pliny.

The original has unfortunately perished, but several copies or imitations of it, belonging to various periods, some executed in marble, and some engraved on gems, are extant, and have been figured in many well-known works on the history of art.

One of the marble copies is in the British Museum, another is at Thessalonica, a third at Venice, and a fourth, the finest of all, is preserved in the Museo Pio Clementino at the Vatican.*

In this composition, which most nearly corresponds with Pliny's description of the original, the eagle is represented as supported by the trunk of a tree behind it, with its wings expanded, and neck stretched upwards, and grasping firmly, though tenderly, in its talons the beautiful youth, whose feet have just ceased to touch the receding earth. The robe of Ganymede is dexterously disposed behind his back so as to protect his body from the sharp claws of the great bird, and yet to exhibit the full beauty of the nude figure. A dog, seated below, howls piteously for his departing master.

Critics point out that the addition of the dog to this group, and the insertion of the tree, are not only in accordance with the myth as related by Virgil,† but are of artistic importance as an aid to the imagination by rendering more perceptible the soaring movement of the principal figures, and thus minimizing the objections to a plastic presentation of a pictorial subject.

The Buddhist adaptations omit the dog, and in this respect agree with the groups preserved at Venice, Thessalonica, and in the British Museum, but, in the pose of the eagle, and the introduction of the trunk of the tree, they resemble the Vatican group more closely than any other.

Three of the examples of these adaptations figured by Major Cole (Plates 2, 3, and 4) were found in the ruins at Sanghao. His fourth example (Plate 17) was obtained at the upper monastery of Nuttu, which is situated close to Sanghao. The Sanghao specimens figured in Plates 3 and 4 are duplicates, whereas the Nuttu specimen agrees with the Sanghao sculpture illustrated in Plate 2.‡

* Overbeck (*Mythologie der Kunst*) has pointed out that the extant Rape of Ganymede groups fall into two distinct classes. The first represents the eagle as the messenger of Zeus; the second presents the god himself transformed into the shape of an eagle. The Vatican group is the best example of the first and earlier, the Venetian sculpture is the best example of the second and later type. Engravings of the Vatican group will be found in Visconti's *Museo Pio-Clementino*, Vol. III, p. 149, and in the histories of sculpture by Winckelmann, Lübke, and Perry. A figure of the Venetian specimen is given in Zanetti's work on San Marco. The Thessalonican group is described and engraved in Stuart's *Athens*, III, ch. 9, Pl. II and IX. The Indian adaptations seem to combine the characteristics of both types.

† "Puer quem præpes ab Ida
Sublimem pedibus rapuit Jovis armiger uncis;
Longævi palmas nequidquam ad sidera tendunt
Custodes, sævitque canum latratus in auras." (Æneid, V, 252-257).

‡ Major Cole says that Sir A. Cunningham found an example of the woman and eagle subject in a knob or plume of a royal statue at Jamálgarhí, which is now

Both the Buddhist variations show a general agreement with one another, though differing considerably in detail. The posture of Máyá in the specimens figured in Plates 2 and 17 is singularly ungraceful and constrained. As some compensation for this defect her feet are so treated as to suggest the notion that she is really being lifted from the ground, and in this respect these examples are superior to the other two, which altogether fail to convey the idea of upward motion. In both varieties the female figure is fully draped.

The substitution of a fat, round-cheeked, young Indian woman, swathed in heavy drapery, for the nude form of Ganymede instinct with the beauty of Greek youth, destroys all the æsthetic value of the composition, which is, in its Buddhist forms, devoid of life or elegance, and far inferior to the worst Græco-Roman example. The conversion of a Greek theme to their own uses by the Gándhára sculptors is more readily demonstrated in the case of the Rape of Ganymede than in any other, but, unfortunately for their reputation, they were less successful in dealing with this subject than almost any other which they attempted. Probably it would be correct to say that a purely ideal subject was beyond their powers.

A very curious panel in the Lahore Museum, of which a cast is exhibited at South Kensington, has been differently interpreted by Sir A. Cunningham and Dr. Leitner.

The former describes it as a "portion of a large sculpture, containing eleven figures. The three lower ones are soldiers armed with spears and shields; but the rest, with their animal's heads, large mouths, and sharp teeth, are probably intended for demons. As such they may have formed part of the army which Mára brought to frighten Buddha during his ascetic meditation under the Bodhi tree." (*Descriptive List*, 538.)

The three soldiers in the lower compartment, marching one behind the other, are certainly not Indian in style or equipment. They are Greek, not Roman warriors. Two of them carry long oval shields, the shield of the third differs in shape, having a rectangular body, and circular head, with narrow neck. Sir A. Cunningham's conjecture as to the meaning of the composition fails to explain the presence of these soldiers.

Dr. Leitner, who has seen Buddhist masquerade processions in Ladákh, informs me that he regards the monstrous forms in the upper part of the panel as intended to represent the masks of the Vices in a

in the Calcutta Museum, but the Catalogue does not mention any such specimen. G. 40, a sculpture ten inches high, seems to deal with the same subject, although Dr. Anderson does not recognize it. So large an object can hardly have formed part of a knob or plume.

procession of Vices and Virtues, and that the soldiers may be interpreted as the escort. In his Catalogue he gives a somewhat different explanation.

Whatever be the correct interpretation of this strange composition, it is certainly one of the best, and presumably among the earliest, works of the Gándhára school. All the figures are well executed, and the aged and monstrous heads in the upper compartment are carved with great cleverness and spirit. It probably, like the Athéné, belongs to the pre-Roman period.

Inasmuch as my object in this paper is not the publication of an exhaustive monograph on the Gándhára school of sculpture, but the presentation of a general view of the modes of Græco-Roman influence on India, though with special reference to the Gándhára sculptures, I shall not proceed further in the detailed description of works from the Kábul valley, which deal with subjects obviously belonging to the domain of Buddhist mythology.

Certain decorative elements, which are not peculiar to the Gándhára school, but also occur in the earlier sculptures at Bhárhut and Buddha Gayá in the interior of India, are mythological, but not in themselves, so far as appears, specially connected with Buddhist mythology. I allude to the hippocamps, centaurs, tritons, and various winged and other monsters, which are frequently met with. These forms, which are certainly of Græco-Roman origin, so far as India is concerned, were probably used by the Buddhist artists for purely decorative purposes, without any definite symbolical meaning. Such monsters were common in Greek art, and are supposed especially to characterize the works of the followers of Scopas.

The comic friezes in which boys are shown pulling cattle by the tails, riding on lions, and disporting themselves in sundry fantastic ways, are obviously not Indian in design. Major Cole's plate 26 illustrates a tolerably good specimen from the Mián Khán monastery of such a comic frieze, the figures in which are boys mounted on lions.

The direct model for these works was probably found in Roman art. Their ultimate source is to be traced to the Alexandrian compositions depicting the "*erotopægnia* (love-sports, amatory poems) of the Anacreontic school, in which Eros becomes a boy, and rides all sorts of wild animals and monsters, lions, panthers, boars, centaurs, hippocamps, dolphins, dogs, and deer."*

Among the remains of the Gándhára sculptor's work an extraordinary abundance of detached human heads, chiefly executed in stucco, is met with.

* Perry, *History of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 629.

The cases in the British Museum contain a series of about forty such heads, varying from life-size to very small dimensions. Most of these were obtained in the Pesháwar District, and purchased in 1861 through the late Mr. Thomas.* They are as varied in character as in size, and comprise old and young, male and female, serious and comic. Almost all are good, but I was particularly struck by the head, five or six inches in height, of an aged, emaciated, and bearded man, and the very remarkable life-size head of a laughing youth, with large straight nose, big projecting ears, and a curl of hair on his forehead.

Dr. Leitner has a considerable number of similar heads in his collection, and, as he observes, it is impossible not to notice the resemblance between them and the heads found in Cyprus, specimens of which may be seen in the British, South Kensington, and Woking Museums.

The specimens from the Pesháwar District, in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, marked P 1—18, are similar, and some particularly good examples of such heads, found in the Mián Khán monastery, are figured in Major Cole's Plate 28.

Two plaster heads of this class are figured in plate IX, fig. 5, *a* and *b*. They are about each six inches in height. The head reproduced in fig. *a* is very Greek in feature, though Indian in ornament. The photograph, in consequence of foreshortening, does not do the face full justice.

The great abundance of such detached stucco heads is probably to be explained, at least in part, by the following observation of Masson, who notes that at the village of Hidda, near Jalálábád in the upper Kábul valley, "idols in great numbers are to be found. They are small, of one and the same kind, about six or eight inches in height, and consist of a strong cast head fixed on a body of earth, whence the heads only can be brought away. They are seated and clothed in folds of drapery, and the hair is woven into rows of curls. The bodies are sometimes painted with red lead, and rarely covered with leaf-gold; they appear to have been interred in apartments, of which fragments are also found."†

Section IV. Hellenistic Sculpture in India Proper.

An exhaustive examination of all the known remains of early Buddhist sculpture which exhibit traces, more or less distinct, of teaching derived from Greek sources would, I fear, be extremely tedious,

* Information kindly supplied by A. Franks, Esq., F. R. S.

† *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 113.

and would certainly extend this paper far beyond the limits to which I desire to confine it. The Hellenistic influence on India Proper was slight, and no site in the interior of India contains the remains of a distinct, well-established Greek, or Græco-Roman, school of art, such as existed in Gándhára. I shall, therefore, content myself with a mere passing reference to most of the Indian cases in which the marks of western art teaching have been detected, and shall describe in detail only a few specially interesting works.

The honeysuckle ornament on the capitals of some of the monoliths of Aśoka (B. C. 250) is the earliest example of a Greek form of decoration applied to Indian work. Mr. Fergusson has suggested that Aśoka borrowed this ornament direct from its Assyrian or Babylonian birthplace, and not from the Greeks,* but, considering the fact that, even in Aśoka's time, Assyrian and Babylonian art belonged to a distant past, it seems much more natural to suppose that the Ionic honeysuckle ornament was introduced into India from the Greek kingdoms of Asia with which Aśoka was in communication.

I have already alluded to the tritons, hippocamps, and other marine monsters which formed part of the ordinary Greek decorative stock-in-trade, and passed into Indian art.

The centaur, another characteristic Greek form, is found among the sculptures at Bhárhut, dating from about B. C. 150, and among those at Buddha Gayá, which are somewhat earlier.†

The chariot of the sun, in Indian mythology, is drawn by seven steeds. At Buddha Gayá in Bihár, and again at Bhájá in the Bombay Presidency, we find it represented drawn by four steeds, as in Greek art.‡ Mr. Fergusson also draws attention to the Greek look of "the figure of the spear-bearer" in the Bhájá cave temple.§ The same writer detects the presence of a distinctly Greek element in the well-known sculptures of Amarávatí on the Krishṇa river, and such an element may certainly be traced in them, though its presence is not very obvious on casual inspection.‖

* *Cave Temples*, p. 521.

† For a full descriptive account of the sculptures at Bhárhut, see Sir A. Cunningham's special work on the subject. Centaurs at Buddha Gayá and Bhárhut are described in Anderson's *Catalogue*, Part I, p. 129, where further references are given.

‡ For the Buddha Gayá sun chariot, see Cunningham, *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. III, p. 97; *Buddha Gayá* by Rájendralál Mitra, Plate L; Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples*, p. 521. For the Bhájá example of the same design see *Archæol. Survey of W. India*, Vol. IV, p. 5, Pl. VI.

§ *Cave Temples*, p. 521, Pl. XCVI, 5.

‖ See *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 2nd ed., pp. 106, 172.

The most distinct and conspicuous remains of Indo-Hellenic art in the interior of India are those which have been discovered at the ancient city of Mathurá, situated on the Jamuná about thirty-five miles from Agra.

A group in sandstone, found at or near Mathurá, was described and figured more than fifty years ago by James Prinsep as representing Silenus with his attendants, and a second corresponding, though not identical, group has since been discovered by Mr. Growse in the neighbourhood of the same city.

The block first found is three feet broad, and three feet eight inches high, hollowed on the top into a shallow basin, perfectly smooth, and originally nearly circular, and is sculptured back and front with figures in high relief.

"In the front group the principal figure is a stout, half-naked man, resting on a low seat, with wig or vine-crowned brow, out-stretched arms, which appear to be supported by the figures, male and female, standing one on each side. The dress of the female is certainly not Indian, and is almost as certainly Greek. * * * Prinsep agrees with Stacey in considering the principal figure to be Silenus:—'His portly carcass, drunken lassitude, and vine-wreathed forehead, stamp the individual, while the drapery of his attendants pronounce them at least to be foreign to India, whatever may be thought of Silenus' own costume, which is certainly highly orthodox and Brahmanical. If the sculptor were a Greek, his taste had been somewhat tainted by the Indian beau-ideal of female beauty. In other respects his proportions and attitudes are good; nay, superior to any specimen of pure Hindu sculpture we possess; and, considering the object of the group, to support a sacrificial vase (probably of the juice of the grape), it is excellent.'"*

Prinsep's account of the purpose of the block described by him, and his interpretation of the sculptures have both been disputed. I shall not enter into the controversy on the subject, which may be read in the works cited in the note. Personally, I am of opinion, that the drunken man is an Indian adaptation of Silenus.

A third work, much in the same style, and still more obviously

* Cunningham, *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol I, p. 243. Prinsep's original account will be found in *Journal As. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. V, (1836), pp. 517, 567, Pl. XXXI. The sculpture described by Prinsep and its subsequently discovered companions are discussed by Mr. Growse, and illustrated by good plates, in the same *Journal*, Vol. XLIV, Part I (1875), p. 212, Pls. XII, XIII, and are further commented on by the same writer in *Mathurá, a District Memoir*. See also Anderson's *Catalogue*, Part I, pp. 170—176.

Greek in subject and treatment, was discovered in 1882 by Sir A. Cunningham, also at Mathurá, where it served an humble purpose as the side of a cattle-trough. This unique specimen now adorns the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Dr. Anderson's careful, though rather awkwardly worded, description of it is as follows :—

"*M.* 17.—A figure of Hercules in alto-rilievo, 2 feet 5 inches high, strangling the Nemean lion. The latter is represented standing erect on its hind feet, but grasped round the neck by the left arm of Hercules, who is pressing the neck against his shoulder. The right arm of the statuette is broken off, but, as the axilla is exposed, the arm had been represented raised and bent on itself at the elbow, so that the hand had been brought down close to the shoulder, but hidden in the foliage behind the figure, the tree being the same as occurs in the Silenus group. The greater portion of the knotted club is seen behind the right side of the figure. The action, therefore, is not only that of strangling, but of clubbing the lion as well. The head of Hercules has been lost, and the front part also of the head of the lion. He (*scil.* Hercules) is represented as having worn the skin of an animal over his back, as the front limbs are tied before his chest in a loop-knot, the free ends being the paws. The beard of the lion is indicated by parallel pendants, and, on the full rounded left cheek, there is a somewhat stellate figure with wavy arms, probably a rude Swastika. The fore-limbs of the lion are raised to the front of its neck, grasping the left hand of Hercules, but they are very feebly executed. The general art characters of the figure are essentially Grecian, but, in the attitude in which Hercules is placed towards the lion, and the consequent position of his right arm, it would be extremely difficult to deal any but the most feeble blow. Although there is considerable anatomical accuracy in delineating the position of the various muscles brought into play in Hercules, the lion is devoid of action and badly shaped."*

These Mathurá sculptures have very little in common with those of Gándhára, and seem to be the work of a different school. They have not the Roman impress which is so plainly stamped on the art of Gándhára, and are apparently the result of Greek teaching conveyed through other than Roman channels. It is difficult to fix their date with precision. It cannot well be later than A. D. 300, and the style is not good enough to justify the suggestion of a very early date. Perhaps A. D. 200 may be taken as an approximate date for these works, but at present their chronological position cannot be definitely determined.

* *Catalogue*, Part I, p. 190.

They are by no means, in my opinion, equal in merit to the best of the Gándhára Indo-Roman sculptures, which I assign to the third century A. D.

The Mathurá group of Herakles and the lion may be contrasted with the widely different representation of the same subject recently found at Quetta in Balúchistán. A much corroded copper or bronze statuette, two and a quarter feet high, discovered at that place, shows the hero standing, and holding under his left arm either the skin or dead body of the slain lion, the right arm being wanting.* This work, to judge from the published plate, has an archaic look, and bears a curiously close resemblance to the colossal figure found at Khorsábád in Assyria, fancifully named Nimrod by Bonomi, and designated the Assyrian Hercules by other writers. "He is represented strangling a young lion, which he presses against his chest with his left arm, while he is clutching in his hand the fore-paw of the animal, which seems convulsed in the agony of his grasp. In his right hand he holds an instrument which we infer to be analogous to the boomerang of the Australians," etc.†

I cannot venture to assign even an approximate date for the Quetta statuette, and can only say that it is certainly an early work.

Section V. The Chronology and Affinities of the Gándhára or Pesháwar School of Sculpture.

It is impossible to determine the affinities of a school of art until its chronological position is known at least with approximate accuracy. Apparent resemblances between the works of different schools are apt to be delusive and misleading unless checked by chronological dates independent of the idiosyncrasies of the critic. On the other hand, the style of the works of art, the date of which is in question, is in itself, when used with due caution, an essential element for the determination of the chronology, if conclusive external proof is not forthcoming. In the case of the Gándhára school its chronology and affinities are both still to a large extent undetermined. I shall quote subsequently the divergent judgments of the principal authorities on the subject. For the present I shall confine myself to the examination of the external evidence for the chronology of the Gándhára sculptures. This evidence falls chiefly under three heads, namely, (1) Epigraphic, (2) Numismatic, and (3) the records of the Chinese pilgrims. The pilgrims' testimony, supplemented

* *Journal As. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. LVI, p. 163, Pl X.

† Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, 2nd ed., p. 163, Plate X.

by scanty historical data from Indian sources, will be more conveniently dealt with in connection with the internal evidence derived from style. The other two heads may here be considered.

The epigraphic material in the Gándhára region is unfortunately meagre in quantity, and the little that exists gives but a small amount of information.

The local inscriptions, known in 1875, are enumerated by Sir A. Cunningham,* and comprise the following records, namely, from

(1.)	Jamálgaṛhí.	(α) Certain mason's marks; (β) The Indian names of a weekday and a month on a pilaster; (γ) Seven unintelligible letters, read as *Saphaë danamukha*, incised on the back of the nimbus of one of the statues supposed to be those of kings.
(2.)	Kharkai.	(α) Masons' marks; (β) Three characters, read as *a*, *ra*, and *de*, on the sides of a small stone relic-chamber.
(3.)	Zeda.	Inscription of Kanishka dated in the year 11.
(4.)	Ohind.	A fragment dated in the month Chaitra of the year 61.
(5.)	Takht-i-Bahí.	Inscription dated in the 26th year of Mahárája Guduphara, in the year 103 of an undetermined era.
(6.)	Panjtár.	Inscription of a Mahárája of Gushán or Kushán tribe, dated in the year 122.
(7.)	Saddo.	The Indian name of a month on a rock.
(8.)	Sahri-Bahlol.	The Indian name of a month on a fragment of pottery.

Inasmuch as Taxila may be included for the purposes of the history of art in Gándhára, the Taxila inscription of the Satrap Liako Kusulako, dated in the 78th year of the great king Moga, should be added to the above list.

I have lately obtained an inscription on the pedestal of a statuette of Buddha dated in the year 274.

All the inscriptions above referred to are in the alphabet variously designated as Arian, Ario or Ariano-Pálí, or Bactrio-Pálí, which is written from right to left, and was employed by Aśoka (B. C. 250) in

* *Archæol.* Rep., Vol. V, pp. 57—64.

his edict inscription engraved on the rock at Sháhbázgaṛhí (Kapurdagiri) in the Gándhára country. The use of this alphabet never became general in the interior of India, and certainly died out there altogether at an early date, not much subsequent to the Christian era.

These facts have been utilized by Sir A. Cunningham as an argument for the early date of the Gándhára sculptures, but the argument seems to me devoid of all force. When he wrote his Report the latest known date for an Arian inscription was the year 122, recorded in the Panjtár document, and this date was then believed to refer to the era known by the name of Vikrama, B. C. 57. Sir A. Cunningham, therefore, argued "As no Indian letters have been found on any of them, I conclude that the whole of the sculptures must belong to the two centuries before and after the Christian era, as the Arian characters are known to have fallen into disuse about A. D. 100 or a little later."

No one now believes that the Indo-Scythian era is the same as that of Vikrama, and most archæologists hold, though conclusive proof is still wanting, that the Indo-Scythian inscriptions are dated in the Śaka era of A. D. 78. If this correction be applied, Sir A. Cunningham's argument will mean that all the Gándhára sculptures must be prior to A. D. 250.

One premise of this argument has been destroyed by the discovery of an Arian inscription dated 274, equivalent to A. D. 352, if referred to the Saka era. That inscription at the present moment happens to be the latest known, but there is no reason why one still later should not be found. The absence of Indian letters on the Gándhára sculptures simply proves that the Indian alphabet was not used in that part of the country, which fact was known already for an earlier period from the existence of Aśoka's Sháhbázgaṛhí inscription.

The Arian character never took root in India Proper, and its early total disuse there gives no indication as to the date of its disuse in its original home in the countries on the north-west frontier. I should not be surprised, if an Arian inscription dated as late as A. D. 500 should be discovered in Afghánistán or the Western Panjáb.

The Gándhára sculptures can be proved, on other grounds, to be earlier than A. D. 500, up to which date the Arian character may well have continued in use in the country where they occur. The fact, therefore, that the Gándhára inscriptions are all in the Arian character, does not help in any way to fix the date of the sculptures, much less does it prove that they are earlier either than A. D. 100 or A. D. 250.

Among the inscriptions in Sir A. Cunningham's list those from Zeda, Ohind, Takht-i-Bahí, Panjtár, Saddo, and Sahri-Bahlol, are not closely associated with Græco-Buddhist sculptures. The valueless Saddo

fragment inscribed on a rock is the only one among these records found in its original position. These inscriptions consequently give no warrant for the assumption that the Græco-Buddhist sculptures are contemporary with Kanishka or Gondophares, who are mentioned in some of the documents.

The Arian inscriptions at Kharkai and Jamálgarhí are incised on works of the Græco-Buddhist or Gándhára school, but are too fragmentary to be of any use. Sir A. Cunningham wishes to read the characters *a*, *ra*, *de*, on the Kharkai relic-chamber as Árya Deva, the name of a Buddhist patriarch who flourished late in the first century A. D, but this interpretation is purely conjectural, and cannot be admitted.

The result of all the foregoing discussion is the negative conclusion that, with the exception of the image of Buddha dated 274, no epigraphic evidence to prove the date of the Gándhára sculptures has yet been discovered.

This unique dated inscription is of sufficient interest to deserve a particular description. I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. L. White King, B. C. S., for permission to publish it.*

In or about the year 1883, at Hashtnagar, the site of the ancient Pushkalávatí (Peukeloaitis), Mr. King came across a statue of the standing Buddha, which was ignorantly worshipped by the Hindús as an orthodox deity. He could not carry away the statue, but was allowed to remove its inscribed pedestal, a photograph of which is reproduced in Plate X.

The pedestal, like most of the Gándhára sculptures, is composed of blue slate, and is $14\frac{3}{4}''$ long by 8″ high. Its front is adorned by an alto-rilievo, enclosed between two Indo-Corinthian pilasters, and representing Buddha seated, attended by disciples, who seem to be presenting offerings to him.

An Arian inscription, consisting of a single line of character, deeply and clearly cut, and in great part excellently preserved, occupies a smooth band below the relief. This band was evidently prepared for the inscription, which must have been executed at the same time as the sculpture. The record is incomplete at the end, and the lost portion, which is of very small extent, may have contained the name of the person who dedicated the image.

The extant portion was read by Sir A. Cunningham, for Mr. King, as follows:—

* I have already printed a brief notice of this inscription, accompanied by a lithograph taken from a rubbing, in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, (1889), p. 257. The photograph is now published for the first time.

"*Sam* 274 *emborasmasa masasa mi panchami* 5—" The record, as it stands, consists of a date, and nothing more. The month is stated to be intercalary, but is not further named. The numerals are distinct, and their interpretation seems to be free from doubt. The notation is clumsy, and may be rendered thus in Roman numerals, II C XX XX XX X IV, = 274.

The main question suggested by this very scanty record is that of the identity of the era referred to.

The locality in which the inscription was found suggests that the date might be expressed either in the era of Gondophares, as used in the Takht-i-Bahí inscription, or the era of the great king Moga referred to in the Taxila record of Liako Kusulako, or in the era, generally identified with the Śaka era, which was employed by Kanishka. These are the only three eras, in which Arian inscriptions from the Gándhára region are known to be dated, and it is reasonable to assume, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that the number 274 refers to one or other of these epochs. The initial point of no one of the three has yet been ascertained, and consequently an exact date for the new inscription cannot be fixed in any case. But the approximate beginnings of all three eras can be determined by numismatic evidence, and one of two approximate dates can be selected for the inscription.

The coins indicate that the eras used both by Moga and Gondophares must have their starting points about the middle of the first century B. C., and, so far as appears at present, the two may have been identical. For the purpose of selecting an approximate date for the inscription they may be treated as one, and as equivalent to the era B. C. 57, known to the later ages as the Vikrama Samvat.*

* Assuming that the Mahárája Guduphara of the Takht-i-Bahí inscription is identical with the sovereign whose name is variously given on coins, in the genitive case, as Undopherrou, Gondopharou, Gudapharasa, Gudaphanasa, and Gadapharasa, or, in the nominative case, as Undophares; and assuming further that all the coins alluded to were struck by one king, then the numismatic evidence indicates that he flourished in the first half of the first century B. C. (See *Gardner's Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings, pp. XLIV*, 103—108, *Plates XXII, XXIII, XXXII*). The year 103 of Gondophares would therefore fall about the middle of the first century A. D., and, for rough approximations, his era may be regarded as identical with that of Vikrama.

Assuming that Moga of the Taxilan inscription is identical with Maues, who is known from coins, his date must be fixed as about 60 or 70 B. C., which, again, is nearly synchronous with the era of Vikrama (See *Gardner, pp. XXXIII, XLIX.* For the Taxilan inscription see *Cunningham, Archæol. Rep., Vol. II, p.* 132, *Pl. LIX, and Vol. V, p* 67).

I must not, of course, be understood to suggest that as a matter of fact either Moga or Gondophares used the era afterwards known as the Vikrama Samvat. I use

If then the Hashtnagar inscription is dated in the era either of Moga or Gondophares its approximate date is 274 — 57 = A. D. 214.

Though demonstration that Kanishka used the Śaka era is still wanting, there is no doubt that the era of his inscriptions does not differ, at the most, more than about twenty years from the Śaka, and for the present purpose the era of Kanishka may be taken as identical with the Śaka, A. D. 78. Assuming that this era was used in the Hashtnagar record, its date is A. D. 352. The alternative *approximate* dates, therefore, are A. D. 214 and 352.

The style of the Hashtnagar alto-relievo appears to me to be decidedly inferior to that of most of the Mián Khán, Jamálgaṛhí, Nuttu, and Sanghao sculptures. The figures in it are not undercut, as they are in the best specimens of Græco-Buddhist art, and the execution, on the whole, is poor. So far as I can judge, the work cannot well be older than the middle of the fourth century.

This dubious conclusion is the only assistance given by epigraphic evidence for determining the problem of the age of the Gándhára sculptures.

The numismatic testimony is nearly as scanty and weak as the epigraphic.

The undisturbed hoard of the coins of Azes buried below the Taxila temple with the Ionic pillars indicates, as argued above (p. 115), that that edifice is to be dated from about the beginning of the Christian era, and this inference is in harmony with the reasoning based on considerations of architectural style. It is, as I have already observed, impossible to decide whether the plaster statues found in the Taxilan temple are contemporary with it or not, for no information concerning their style has been published. The coins of Azes found at Taxila, therefore, give no clue to the chronological position of the Gándhára school of sculpture, excepting a few of the earliest works, especially the Pallas, already discussed (p. 121). The only localities, so far as I can ascertain, where coins have been discovered in close association with remains of Græco-Buddhist, or Romano-Buddhist, sculpture, are Jamálgaṛhí and Sanghao.

Lieutenant Crompton in his report on excavations at the former site says nothing about coins beyond the unsatisfactory remark that "a few silver and copper coins were turned up;"* but Sir A. Cunningham

the epoch B. C. 57 merely as a short expression for any era which began somewhere about the middle of the first century B. C., and about which more accurate knowledge is wanting. The Arian inscriptions from the Gándhára country have not yet been properly edited, and the published translations are quoted with reserve.

* *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, p. 144.

is a little more explicit, and records that, during the progress of the explorations, eight coins are discovered, seven of which bore the name of Bazo Deo, or Vasu Deva.*

Unfortunately no more particular account of these coins has been published. We do not know either the circumstances of their discovery, or their numismatic type, and consequently can draw no positive inference from the fact that they were found. Coins bearing the name of Bazo Deo or Vasu Deva continued to be struck for a long period, but none of them are earlier than about A. D. 150,† and all we can say is that the discovery of Bazo Deo coins at Jamálgaṛhí is perfectly consistent with the inferences to be drawn from the style of the sculptures found in that locality, even if it be assumed, which is not proved, that the coins are contemporary with the sculptures. The coins, for all that appears to the contrary, may have been struck in the third century.

The only other locality where the discovery of coins can be held to afford evidence for fixing the chronology of Gándhára sculpture is Sanghao. The discovery is reported by Major Cole, a good explorer and photographer, but a bad archæologist, as follows:—

"The site where the sculptures were dug is perched on a steep spur, and was the first excavation done under my superintendence in January, 1883. The building revealed two distinct periods, and consists of a *basement* containing small topes, and of a *superstructure* of plain apartments, built obliquely over the *basement*, apparently without reference to its plan.

"The sculptures were found in the *basement*, and belong to the older period; coins of Kanishka, A. D. 80 to 120, were found in the superstructure, and belong to the more modern period."‡

The Kanishka coins were found along with a brass ring in the so-called 'treasury,' "in earthen ware jars embedded in the floors at the corners A and B," as shown in the plan.§

The sculptures referred to were sent to the Lahore Museum, and form the subject of Plate II of Major Cole's volume of heliogravures.

A coin of Gondophares was also found somewhere in the same group of buildings.‖ Gondophares reigned about A. D. 30, but the mere fact that a coin of his was found at Jamálgaṛhí would, at the most, prove

* *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. V, p. 194. The date assigned to Bazo Deo in this passage is admittedly erroneous.

† Gardner, *Catalogue of Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings*, pp. lii, 159—161 Pl. XXIX.

‡ Cole, *Third Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India*, for the year 1883-84, p. cx.

§ Cole, *Second Report*, for 1882-83, p. cxx, Pl. 3.

‖ Cole, *Third Report*, p. cx.

an early occupation of the site. It is no evidence of the date of a particular set of sculptures.

The discovery of coins of Kanishka in the superstructure of the Jamálgarhí monastery, above the basement containing the sculptures, is a much more weighty fact, and undoubtedly seems to warrant Major Cole's inference that the sculptures are earlier than A. D. 100. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the inference is a mistaken one. I fully accept Major Cole's account of what he saw, but it is quite possible that he did not see all that ought to have been observed. He is a strong believer in Sir A. Cunningham's theory of the early date of the Gándhára sculptures, and may, like many other people, have been unconsciously biassed by a prepossession. It is impossible for any one who has not minute local knowledge to check the details of an observation as reported, but, while I cannot pretend to point out the seat of the error, I am fully persuaded that the discovery of the coins in question is not to be explained by the theory that the sculptures photographed are earlier than the reign of Kanishka, but should be interpreted in some other way.

My reasons for thus refusing to accept apparently clear external evidence of date will, I hope, be sufficiently established by the discussion of the internal evidence on which I am about to enter. For the present, it will suffice to say that Major Cole's plate refutes his text. The Sanghao sculptures belong to the same school as those of Nuttu, though they may be a little later, and they bear throughout distinct marks of the influence of Roman art of the third or fourth centnry. They cannot possibly be anterior to A. D. 100, no matter what coins were found above or below them.

The problem demanding solution may be conveniently stated by placing in juxtaposition and contrast the opinions expressed by the two scholars who have attacked it.

Mr. Fergusson, after giving many reasons, some strong, and some the reverse, for his opinion, came to the conclusion "that, though some of these Gándhára sculptures probably are as early as the first century of the Christian Era, the bulk of them at Jamálgiri, and more especially those at Takht-i-Bahi, are subsequent to the third and fourth [centuries], and that the series extends down to the eighth [century]; till, in fact, the time when Buddhism was obliterated in these countries."*

Sir Alexander Cunningham expresses his views as follows:—

"What I have called the Indo-Grecian style must have been introduced by the Greeks who ruled the country; but the earliest specimens, so far as can be *proved*, belong to the time of Azes, I saw myself twelve

* *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 182.

coins of Azes exhumed from under the temple of *Maliár-ki-mora* (Sháhdheri), from which the Indo-Ionic capitals and bases were extracted.

The Indo-Corinthian examples should be equally old, at least all the fine examples. But the oldest that can be proved, belongs to the time of the Antonines, and is *certainly* older than Constantine."

[Here follow detailed references to the *stúpas* at Mánikyála and elsewhere, and to the use of the Arian alphabet, which has been sufficiently discussed above.]

"I would, therefore, ascribe all the greater works, both of sculpture and architecture, to the *flourishing* period of Kushán sway under Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasu Deva—, or from 80 to 200 A. D.

Doubtless many *stúpas* were erected after A. D. 200; but they were comparatively small, and their decorations rough and coarse."

[Reference is then made to the Sahri Bahlol image, and the Hidda and Baoti Pind topes, which will be discussed subsequently.]

"I notice that none of the sculptured head-dresses show any affinity with Sassanian costume, whereas the coins (Indo-Sassanian) show it unmistakeably, from about the time of Bahrám Gor. From this I infer that the sculptures are older than 400 A. D.

"I believe that the strong Sassanian government from A. D. 230 to 450 formed a very effectual barrier to intercourse between Rome and N.-W. India. Roman gold coins are plentiful down to the time of Severus and Caracalla [A. D. 217]. They then disappear until the time of Justin [A. D. 526], Marcian [A. D. 450], Leo [A. D. 474], and Anastasius." [A. D. 491-518].*

I am not able to agree altogether with either Mr. Fergusson or Sir A. Cunningham, and shall now proceed to state the reasons which seem to me sufficient to justify me in venturing to differ from such eminent authorities.

It will be convenient to attempt in the first place to fix possible limiting dates, and, when that has been done, to determine, so far as may be, the approximate actual dates of the sculptures. The chronological enquiry involves the determination of their aesthetic affinities.

As to the initial date there is practically no dispute. It is impossible to be certain that "the Indo-Grecian style" was really "introduced

* My quotations are from a letter dated 8th January 1889, with which Sir A. Cunningham favoured me in answer to enquiries, and which consequently, express his latest and deliberate opinion on the subject. In the Introduction to Volume V of the Archæological Reports he had long ago expressed the same opinion as to the relation between the Kushán dynasty and the Gándhára sculptures, but the theory which he then held as to the Kushán chronology obliged him to fix the date of the sculptures nearly a century and a half earlier than he now does.

by the Greeks who ruled the country," as Sir A. Cunningham affirms that it must have been, because, with the exception of coins, not a vestige of Bactrian art is known to exist, and we know nothing almost about the Greeks who ruled the country beyond the names of some of them.

But, whoever introduced Greek art into India, so far as our present knowledge extends, the Taxilan Ionic temples are certainly our oldest specimens of Indo-Greek architecture, and the statuette of Athene, in the same posture in which she is shown on the coins of Azes, is our oldest Indo-Greek sculpture from the Gándhára region. Both the temples and statuette must date approximately from the beginning of the Christian era.

It has been shown above (p. 112) that Greek art influenced Indian sculpture and architectural decoration from the time of Asoka B. C. 250, and that more or less distinct traces of its influence may be traced in the interior of India for several centuries afterwards. Greek ideas reached India by at least two routes, namely, overland through Bactria, and by sea through the ports of the western coast.

The Athene and the Taxilan Ionic pillars are, I think, to be classed among the results of this old and long-continued Hellenistic influence.

The bases of the Ionic pillars at Taxila, according to the measurements of their discoverer, correspond exactly with the pure Attic model, as seen in the Erectheum. "The capitals differ from the usual Greek forms very considerably, and more especially in the extreme height of the abacus. The volutes also differ, but they present the same side views of a baluster, which is common to all the Greek forms of the Ionic order."* In other words, the pillars, though with peculiarities of their own, are Greek, not Roman. The Roman modification of the Ionic order was characterized by corner volutes.

At the beginning of the Christian era Roman art, as will be explained presently, had not affected India, and the fact that the Taxilan Ionic pillars are Greek, not Roman, in style, harmonizes perfectly with the numismatic evidence that they were erected soon after B. C. 30.

So far, then, as the Athene and the Ionic pillars are concerned, it must be admitted that the Gándhára sculptures go back to the beginning of the Christian era, and A. D. 1 may be taken as the anterior limiting date. Nothing older is known in the Gándhára region. I shall endeavour to prove subsequently that nothing else which has been found there is nearly so old.

I shall now try to fix the posterior limiting date, which Mr. Fergus-

* *Archæol. Rep.* Vol. V, p. 71, Pl. XVIII.

son places in the eighth century, and Sir A. Cunningham at the beginning of the fifth.

The extension of the Græco-Buddhist series of sculptures down to the eighth century A. D. by Mr. Fergusson was suggested by the published accounts of the opening of the great tope at Mánikyála many years ago by General Ventura.

The undisturbed deposit which was found in the lower portion of that building included coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, and none later, and is legitimately interpreted as signifying that the structure in its original form cannot be older than A. D. 110, nor much later than A. D. 150.

The upper deposits, about the exact position of which there is some doubt, contained various coins ranging in date from A. D. 632 to about A. D. 730, and undoubtedly show that the top of the building must have been opened in the eighth century, and a deposit then made. But they prove nothing more.

We are altogether ignorant of the circumstances under which these upper deposits were made, and it is very unsafe to build any historical theories on their existence. The great tope at Mánikyála is adorned with Indo-Corinthian pilasters, the existing capitals of which are executed in *kankar*, or nodular limestone. Sir A. Cunningham supposes that all the original work of the tope was in sandstone, and that the *kankar* mouldings date from the eighth century.* No other example of Indo-Corinthian work of that date is known, and, if the existing capitals were executed in the eighth century, I feel certain that they were mere restorations. As a matter of fact their date is quite uncertain. The attempt to connect the coin of Yaśo Varma, A. D. 730, which was found in the upper deposit, with supposed repairs of the tope in the eighth century is purely conjectural.† All we really know is that somebody for some reason unknown opened the building at the top and put in a coin of Yáso Varma. Such an adventitious supplementary deposit is no substantial basis for an argument that Buddhism and Indo-Hellenic art still flourished in the Gándhára region in the eighth century, and, except Yáso Varma's coin, no evidence whatever, so far as I am aware, exists to support the inference that the Gándhára school of art continued to exist so late as the eighth century.

In another place, Mr. Fergusson, still relying on the same poor little coin, has given an unwarrantable extension to the duration

* The great Mánikyála tope is discussed by Cunningham at considerable length in *Archæol Rep.*, Vol. II, p. 139, and Vol. V, pp. 76—78.

† [It is more probable that the coin is of the 6th century, of a Yaśo Varman about 532 A. D. This would admirably fit in with "the limiting date" given on p. 153. See *Proceedings* for August 1888. Ed.]

of Buddhism as a dominant faith in Gándhára. "There were," he writes, "probably no great Buddhist establishments in Gándhára before Kanishka, and as few, if any, after Yáso Varma, yet we learn that between these dates [*i. e.* circa A. D, 78 to 730], this province was as essentially Buddhist as any part of India.*

In support of the last clause of this sentence the Chinese travellers Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiang are appealed to, but their testimony does not support the conclusion drawn from it. After the middle of the seventh century, when Hiuen Tsiang wrote, very few parts of India were "essentially Buddhist," and Gándhára certainly was not. In A. D. 730 very little Buddhism can have been left in it.

Mr. Fergusson's language is correct when it is confined to the beginning of the fifth century. Fa Hian who travelled in India in the years A. D. 400—405, found Buddhism vigorous and flourishing in Gándhára, as in a large part of India. But, at the time of the travels of Hiuen Tsiang, A. D. 629—642, a very great change had taken place, and Gándhára was very far from being "essentially Buddhist."

The capital city of Gándhára, the modern Pesháwar, is, he notes "about 40 *li* [= 6 to 7 miles] in circuit. The royal family is extinct, and the kingdom is governed by deputies from Kapisa [N. of Kábul]. The town and villages are deserted, and there are but few inhabitants.

At one corner of the royal residence there are about 1,000 families * * * There are about 1,000 *sanghárámas* [monasteries], which are deserted and in ruins. They are filled with wild shrubs, and solitary to the last degree. The *stúpas* are mostly decayed. The heretical temples, to the number of about 100, are occupied pell-mell by heretics."

At Pushkalávatí, the modern Hashtnagar, the pilgrim found a large population, but not of the congregation of the faithful, for the Buddhist buildings, like those of the capital, were in ruins.

Taxila, east of the Indus, was dependent on Káshmír, the royal family here also being extinct. The monasteries are described as "ruinous and deserted, and there are very few priests; those that there are, study the Great Vehicle."†

The graphic and emphatic words of Hiuen Tsiang prove with absolute certainty that at the time of his visits (A. D. 629—642) the Buddhist religion in Gándhára was nearly extinct. The utter decay of which he gives such clear testimony must have been in progress for a considerable time. It is not possible that the Buddhist edifices of Pesháwar could have become "deserted and in ruins, filled with wild shrubs, and solitary to the last degree" in a day.

* *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 76.

† Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, pp. 100, 109, 137.

It is quite safe to assume that Buddhism had ceased to be an active force in the Gándhára region, including Taxila, by the year A. D. 600; and it is inconceivable that new religious edifices on any considerable scale should have been erected, or works of art deserving of the name, executed in that region subsequent to that date by the scattered, poverty-stricken, and necessarily dispirited adherents of a decaying religion.

It follows, therefore, that the series of Græco-Buddhist works in Gándhára does not extend, as Mr. Fergusson supposed, to the eighth century, but, on the contrary, was closed by the end of the sixth century.

As a matter of fact, the closing date must, I believe, be pushed back considerably farther, but in any case, *A. D. 600 must be taken as the extreme possible limiting posterior date for any work of the Gándhára school in the Lower Kábul Valley.* The dates of which we are in search lie, therefore, between A. D. 1 and A. D. 600.

The above argument, based on the testimony of Hiuen Tsiang, appears to me unanswerable, but it may be well to supplement it by other arguments, in themselves of less force, which reduce the closing date to still narrower bounds. I have already quoted Sir A Cunningham's remark that the head dresses of the Gándhára sculptures show no affinity with the Sassanian costume, and that the sculptures may therefore be regarded as prior, not only to A. D. 600, but to A. D. 400.

Another observation of Sir A. Cunningham's leads to nearly the same conclusion. He observes that "all, or nearly all, Buddhist building must have been stopped after the occupation of Pesháwar by Kitolo's son in the latter part of the fifth century." The Chinese account show that "the last king of the Yuchi [Yueh-ti] mentioned in history is Kitolo, who took possession of Gándhára, but was obliged to return to the west to oppose the white Huns, leaving his son in charge of the new province. The son established his capital in Fo-lu-she, or Parsháwár [Pesháwar]; and the name of the founder of the Little Yuchi, as they were afterwards called, still survives in the title of Sháh Kator, the Chief of Chitrál."*

The coins of the kings of the Little Yuchi are described as bearing Śaiva emblems,† and the kings themselves, therefore, were presumably Brahmanists. It is going too far to assume with Sir A. Cunningham that the rule of a Śaiva king must necessarily have put a stop to all, or nearly all, Buddhist buildings, but it must certainly have been un-

* My first quotation is from a private letter. The second is from *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. II, p. 63. I have not verified the reference to Chinese authors, which is not given in detail.

† *Archæol Rep.*, Vol. V, p. 7. I have not seen any of these coins.

favourable to their erection. In another place Sir A. Cunningham speaks of "the first persecution of Buddhism by the Saiva kings of the Little Yuchi,"* but I do not know what evidence exists for this alleged persecution. Whatever may have been the precise attitude of the Little Yuchi kings towards Buddhism, it is certain that the latter years of the fifth century were times of conflict and turmoil throughout Northern India. The Bhitarí pillar inscription records the struggles between the Gupta dynasty and the Huns (Húṇas), and in or about A. D. 480, on the death of Skanda Gupta, the Gupta empire broke up.† A few years later the stormy career of the Húṇa chief Mihirukula disturbed the whole of Northern India from Bengal to Káshmír.‡ In such a period of anarchy and confused struggles for dominion the arts of peace are perforce neglected, and it would be strange indeed if Gándhára in those days was the scene of the peaceful development of a considerable school of sculpture, as Mr. Fergusson supposed it to have been.

I doubt also if the Græco-Roman impulse retained any considerable force after A. D. 450, even on the north-west frontier. By that time it had certainly spent itself in India Proper, both in the North and West. The last faint traces of Greek skill in design are observable in the Gupta gold coinage of Chandra Gupta II, which was minted in Northern India about A. D. 400,—the later Hindú coinage is all barbarous in style. Corrupt and unmeaning Greek letters linger on the silver coins of Kumára Gupta and Skanda Gupta struck in Western India up to about A. D. 480, but the fact that these letters are corrupt and unmeaning shows that Hellenistic culture had then dwindled down to a dead tradition, even in Gujarát, which had been for centuries in communication with Alexandria and Rome.

In short, all that is known of early Indian history indicates the great improbability of the existence of a flourishing Hellenistic school of sculpture on the north-west frontier later than A. D. 450.

Before proceeding to the discussion of the artistic relations of the Gándhára sculptures, which will render the chronology more definite, one other piece of external evidence may be cited to prove that the good sculptures are much earlier than A. D. 600.

* *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol V, p. 42.

† [See, however, on the dissolution of the Gupta empire, the paper *On an Inscribed seal of Kumára Gupta*, *ante*, p. 85. Ed.]

‡ For the history of the Gupta period see Mr. Fleet's work on the Gupta inscriptions, Vol. III. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. I have given a very brief outline of it in my essay on the Gupta Coinage in the *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for January 1889, to which reference may be made for the proof of the remarks in the next paragraph.

A statuette, Indo-Greek or Indo-Roman in style, wanting the hands and feet, was discovered by Dr. Bellew in the Gándhára country, carefully enclosed in a sepulchral chamber at the level of the ground in the centre of a *stúpa*. The statuette represents the standing Buddha, and is characterized by Dr. Bellew as "better carved than the generality of figures met with," and by Sir A. Cuuningham as "fine."*

The style of the statuette shows that it was executed during the flourishing period of the Gándhára school, and its mutilated condition proves that it was already old when deposited in the *stúpa*. The form of that building indicates that it was created not later than A. D. 600, nor much earlier than A. D. 500.

It is thus evident, remarks Sir A. Cunningham, that the statuette was utilized at a time "when the zeal of first converts had long since died away, and the growing indifference of the people no longer required the manufacture of new statues. Under such circumstances, I can readily suppose that that the builders of the tope may have deposited any piece of Buddhist sculpture that came to hand, just as Bráhmans at the present day will set up and worship any statue which may be found, caring little for its state of mutilation, and still less for its possible connexion with Jainism or Buddhism."

This curious discovery thus confirms the evidence already adduced to prove the propositions that the period A. D. 500—600 was one of decay for Buddhism in Gándhára, that few new religious edifices were erected doing that period, though their construction did not altogether cease, and that the vigorous, local school of Indo-Hellenic art belongs to an earlier time.

My contention that the history of the Gándhára school of Indo-Hellenic art, consecrated to the service of Buddhism, was practically at an end by A. D. 450, may be met by the observation that Buddhist monuments of later date are known to exist in the upper Kábul Valley and elsewhere in the neighbouring countries.

One of the latest *stúpas*, to which a date at all definite can be assigned, is that known as No 10, at Hidda near Jalálábád. This building contained a deposit of coins consisting of five gold *solidi* of the Byzantine emperors Theodosius, Marcian and Leo (A. D. 407—474), two very debased imitations of the Indo-Scythian coinage, which may be assigned to the sixth century, and no less than 202 Sassanian coins of various reigns, but all agreeing in the absence of any trace of Muhammadan influence.

Masson and Wilson, arguing from these facts, reasonably came to

* Cunningham, *Descriptive List*, No. 165; and *Archæol. Rep.* Vol. V, p. 42, with quotations from Dr. Bellew's Report on Yúsufzai, the original of which I have not seen.

the conclusion that the *stúpa* must have been constructed between the years A. D. 474 and 690, at which latter date the Muhammadan incursions had begun, and Kábul was governed by Bráhman kings.*

The Sassanian coins indicate that the monument was erected about A. D. 600.

A *stúpa* belonging to approximately the same period, with an undisturbed deposit of coins, was opened by Sir A. Cunningham at Baoti Pind in the Ráwal-Pindi District, east of the Indus.†

No *stúpa* of later date than those at Hidda and Baoti Pind is, I believe, known either in Afghánistán or the Panjáb, though I should be sorry to affirm that none such exist.

These examples prove, as we had already learned from Hiuen Tsiang, that Buddhism, though sadly weakened at the beginning of the seventh century, was still alive, and show, which was hardly to be expected, that occasionally persons could still be found willing to spend much time and money on works dedicated to the religion of Buddha.

But these examples prove nothing in favour of the late continuance of the Gándhára school of sculpture.

I do not think that any Indo-Hellenic sculpture was found associated with the ruins of the Baoti Pind *stúpa*. The published information concerning the architectural and sculptured decorations of the *stúpas* near Jalálábád is very meagre. So far as it goes, it indicates that, whatever may be the reason of the difference, the monuments in the upper Kábul valley do not display such manifest traces of Græco-Roman influence as do those situate in the lower Kábul valley or Gándhára. Wilson speaks more than once of "plain mouldings" on the pilasters, and does not, I think, note any example of the Indo-Corinthian capital among the ruins of the Jalálábád topes. The date of these topes has, consequently, little bearing on the question concerning the chronology of the Gándhára sculptures.

It is probable that these sculptures are the work of a special local school, working on the lines of Roman art under the patronage of the sovereigns who resided at the city now known as Pesháwar. It seems clear that the head quarters of the school were at Pesháwar, and that the special modification of Roman art, worked out by the artists of that city, never spread beyond the bounds of a comparatively small region in the vicinity of the capital. The connection between the Pesháwar school and the architects and sculptors of interior India was, I believe, very slight, if it existed at all.

I have ventured to assert positively that the Gándhára or Pesháwar

* *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 44, 110, Pl, XVI, XVIII.

† *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. II, p. 141.

local school of sculpture followed the lines of Roman art, and is not the direct descendant of pure Greek art. This proposition of course is to be taken strictly as applying only to the Pesháwar school. It does not apply to the case of the Ionic pillars at Taxila, nor to the sculptures at Buddha Gayá or Bhárhut. The Sánchi work too is probably free from Roman influence, and I cannot perceive any very clear traces of such influence at Amarávatí, though I am not certain that it is altogether absent. The art work in some of the caves in Western India, on the other hand, was in all probability influenced by the specially Roman developments of Greek art.

I pass by on the present occasion the wider questions suggested by an examination of the entire field of early Indian art, and confine myself to the discussion of the nature and degree of Roman influence on the local Gándhára or Pesháwar school of sculpture, which is specially characterized by the use for decorative purposes of the Indo-Corinthian capital.

A brief outline of some of the most material facts in the history of the intercourse between Rome and India will help my readers to appreciate more accurately the value of comparisons between Indian and Roman works, and to understand the bearing of such comparisons on the chronology of the Gándhára school.

Roman influence was not felt by India until after the establishment of the empire of the Cæsars, and the subjugation of Egypt by Augustus; and even during the reign of Augustus, the maritime commerce between Rome and India appears to have been conducted by Arab ships.

The discovery or re-discovery of the course of the monsoon by Hippalos, about the middle of the first century A. D., first rendered it possible for Roman ships to reach the Indian shores.

The overland trade between India and the Roman empire appears to have first attained large dimensions at about the same time. Pliny, who died A. D. 79, laments, in a well-known and often quoted passage, the re, thr rain of gold from the capital towards the east, and his evide one gr nfirmed by the large number of coins of the early Roman empire which have been found in India.

The overthrow of the Nabatæan kingdom of Petra in A. D. 105 secured for Palymra the commercial preeminence on the principal land route between the Roman empire on one side and India and China on the other, and that city retained the preeminence thus gained until it was sacked by Aurelian in A. D. 273. Palymra was visited by the emperor Hadrian about the year A. D. 130, and about A. D. 200, in the reign either of Septimus Severus, or of his son Caracalla, was made a Roman colony.

Active communication between the Roman empire and the far east was maintained during the third century, not only by the peaceful methods of commerce, but by the frequent oriental expeditions of the emperors. The disastrous war of Valerian with the king of Persia, A. D. 254—260, brought the armies of Rome into almost direct contact with India.

The period of Palmyra's commercial greatness, A. D. 105—273, coincided with the period of Roman military activity in the east, and in part with the prosperity of Alexandria, the emporium of the Indian sea-borne trade. This period, accordingly, is that during which Roman intercourse with India attained its maximum. "It was during the reigns of Severus [A. D. 194—211], his son Caracalla [A. D. 211—217], and the Pseudo-Antonines that Alexandria and Palmyra were most prosperous, and that Roman intercourse with India attained its height. The Roman literature gave more of its attention to Indian matters, and did not, as of old, confine itself to quotations from the historians of Alexander, or the narratives of the Seleucidan ambassadors, but drew its information from other and independent sources."

The existence of such independent sources of information is apparent from the works of Clemens Alexandrinus, (who mentions Buddha and *stúpas*), Philostratus, Ælian, and other writers.*

It so happened that at the date, A. D. 273, of the cruel destruction of Palmyra, Alexandria too had fallen into comparative decay. "It would," of course, as Priaulx observes, "be absurd to suppose that the destruction of Palmyra, however much it affected, put an end to the Indian trade through the Persian Gulf." The trade continued, and part of it passed for a time to Batné near the Euphrates, a day's journey from Edessa.† But the Indo-Roman trade, though not stopped, was necessarily very much diminished in volume by the destruction of its overland, and the decay of its maritime emporium, and the intercourse between Rome and the far east became much more difficult and intermittent than it had been for about two centuries previously.

The Alexandrian trade about this time seems to have been undoned by Roman ships, and to have depended on Arab vessels, as in the days of Augustus. In the reign of Constantine (A. D. 306—337) commerce with the east revived, but the Roman ships seem to have rarely, if ever, ventured, beyond the Arabian Gulf of the Red Sea.

* Priaulx, *Apollonius of Tyana and Indian Embassies to Rome*, pp. 132, *seqq.* My remarks on the course of Roman trade with India are chiefly drawn from this valuable little book and Prof. Robertson Smith's article on Palymra, in the ninth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica.

† Priaulx, *Apollonius of Tyana*, etc., pp. 178, 233.

The known facts of the external relations between the Roman empire and India, therefore, apart from all æsthetic criticism, suggest that, if Indian art was influenced by Roman art, the influence would have been most active during the period which may be defined, in round numbers, as extending from A. D. 100 to 350. It would hardly be reasonable to expect that the partial interruption of intercourse between A. D. 273 and 306 should be traceable in Indian art history, and it is not traceable.

I have named A. D. 100 as the approximate earliest possible anterior limit for Roman influence on Indian art, but, as a matter of fact, that date is too early. The name of Rome must of course have been long known to a greater or less extent in India, but I doubt if the Oriental would know much about the Roman empire, before the reign of Hadrian (A. D. 117—138), whose expeditions to Syria (*circa* A. D. 130), and passion for building great edifices must have spread the fame of his power among the merchants of the east. I consider it improbable that Roman models could have affected Indian art before A. D. 150. On the other hand, Roman influence continued to be felt by the arts of India after A. D. 350, and may not have completely disappeared for a century later.

The ground has now been cleared for an examination in some detail of the Roman elements in the art of the Gándhára or Pesháwar school. The general aspect of the figure sculptures and architectural decorations of that school is, as Mr. Fergusson perceived, distinctly Roman, but a vague assertion to that effect cannot convince anybody who has not acquired some familiarity with the art both of Rome and Gándhára. Detailed proofs are necessary to carry conviction to the mind of the ordinary reader. I shall now proceed to give some.

"Roman architecture, as we know it, dates only from about the Christian era, and the rapidity with which it spread from that time is something marvellous. Through nearly the whole extent of the Roman empire, through Asia Minor, Sicily, Britain, France, Syria, Africa,—with one great exception, Egypt,—all was Roman in moulding, ornament, details, the very style of carving, and the construction. No matter what the country of the architect, all seem to have lost their nationality when the Roman came, and to have adopted implicitly his system of design and decoration.....

"It is not uncommon to find examples of Roman architecture completely overdone with ornament, every moulding carved, and every straight surface, whether vertical or horizontal, sculptured with foliage or characteristic subjects in relief."*

* Lewis and Street, article Architecture in Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th edition, pp. 418, 421.

To the list of countries above enumerated as having adopted the Roman system of design and decoration, the Lower Kábul Valley, though it never formed part of the Roman empire, must be added.

So far as I understand the published plans and elevations, the Gándhára buildings show little Roman influence in their construction, though I should not venture to affirm that careful study might not reveal the existence of Roman elements in their plan and construction. However this may be, these buildings, like those of the provinces of the empire, were "Roman in moulding, ornament, details, and the very style of carving," and were characterized, like better known examples of Roman work, by excess of ornament, and by the lavish use for decorative purposes of crowded realistic compositions in high and low relief.

Almost every frieze or panel from Gándhára is decorated with florid Corinthian pilasters, and numerous fragments of similar Corinthian capitals belonging to structural pillars have been found. No one can give the most cursory glance at a collection of Gándhára sculptures without being struck by the free employment of the Corinthian capital as an ornament. No other Græco-Roman form of capital is used, though for a time the Indo-Persian form continued to dispute the field with its newly introduced rival.

Such extensive and exclusive use of the Corinthian form of pillar is in itself decisive proof that the school characterized by it was dominated by Roman influence, and was not a direct descendant of Greek art.

The case of Palmyra offers an exact parallel to what we see in Gándhára. "It is remarkable," observes Wood, "that, except four Ionic half-columns in the temple of the sun, and two in one of the mausoleums, the whole is Corinthian, richly ornamented, with some striking beauties, and some as visible faults."*

We find the same state of facts at the other great Syrian city of Baalbec, or Heliopolis, "which, so far as it has been known to modern travellers, is a Roman city of the second century A. D. The Corinthian order of architecture—the favourite order of the Romans—prevails with few exceptions in its edifices. A Doric column, the supposed clepsydra, is, indeed, mentioned by Wood and Dawkins, and the Ionic style is found in the interior of the circular temple;" but all else is Corinthian.

The style of the great temples at Palmyra is later and more debased than that of the corresponding edifices at Baalbec. No building of importance was erected at Palmyra after the sack of the city by Aurelian in A. D. 273, and the temples may be referred to the third century A. D.,

* Wood, *Palmyra*, p. 15.

having probably been erected during the reigns of Odænathus and Zenobia (A. D. 260—273.)

During the period A. D. 105—273 Palmyra was the principal depôt of the overland trade between India and the west, and the caravans which were constantly passing and re-passing through it must have affected some exchange of ideas as well as of more material wares. It is, therefore, reasonable to believe that the example of Palmyra was one of the factors which influenced the Gándhára architects and sculptors in their adoption of the universally diffused Corinthian style.*

The peculiarities of the Indo-Corinthian pillars have been briefly described in a previous page (pp. 117, 118).

Sir A. Cunningham holds that "at least all the fine examples" of the Indo-Corinthian style, such as the capitals found at Jamálgaṛhí, which are the finest known, should be ascribed to the same age as the temples with Ionic pillars at Taxila.

This view appears to me altogether erroneous, and inconsistent with the observed facts. The Taxilan temples date from the beginning of the Christian era, and show no trace of the domination of Roman ideas of art.

The Indo-Corinthian remains, on the other hand, bear on their face the most obvious resemblance to Roman work, and must consequently be later than the time when India and Rome came into contact. On historical grounds I have fixed the approximate date at which Roman forms of architectural decoration reached India as not earlier than A. D. 150, and an examination of the Indo-Corinthian works fully confirms this inference drawn from the known facts of external history.

It is, I venture to affirm, impossible that a florid adaptation of the Corinthian order, such as is universally employed in the buildings of Gándhára Proper, could have attained such favour except under Roman influence.

Pure Greek examples of the Corinthian order are extremely rare, while Roman examples are numbered by thousands. The Corinthian pillar, modified so freely, that no two specimens exactly agree, was the favourite architectural decoration employed by the builders of imperial Rome, and by those of the subject provinces, who followed the fashion set at the seat of government.

I think I am perfectly accurate in asserting that Corinthian capitals, at all like those at Jamálgaṛhí, were not produced anywhere in the world as early as the beginning of the Christian era, whereas plenty of capitals,

* Prof. Robertson Smith's articles in the Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th edition, give excellent summaries of the present state of knowledge respecting Palmyra and Baalbec.

very like these, though differing in detail, were executed in various parts of the Roman world during the third and fourth centuries.

The fact, (according to Sir A. Cunningham's measurements), that the only two Indo-Corinthian bases of columns yet discovered do not differ widely from the bases of the pillars in the Choragic monument of Lysicrates, which was erected in B. C. 334, does not render credible the supposition that capitals similar to Roman work of the Antonine period were executed at the beginning of the Christian era.

Mr. Fergusson described the Jamálgaṛhí capitals as being "more Greek than Roman in the character of their foliage, but more Roman than Greek in the form of their volutes and general design. Perhaps," he added, "it would be correct to say they are more Byzantine than either, but, till we have detailed drawings, and know more of their surroundings, it is difficult to give a positive opinion as to their age."*

The great critic, with the imperfect materials at his command, might have felt a difficulty in deciding whether a given specimen was to be dated from A. D. 200 or 400, but he had no difficulty in seeing the strong Roman element which exists in all the specimens. Mr. Freeman has more than once called attention to the remarkable circumstance that human figures are inserted among the acanthus foliage of the Corinthian capitals in the ruins of the Baths of Caracalla at Rome.

"The artist," he observes, "has been so far from confining himself to one prescribed pattern, either of volutes or acanthus leaves, that he has ventured to employ vigorously carved *human* or *divine figures* as parts of the enrichment of his capitals."†

Similar figures, employed just in the same way, occur in some of the Indo-Corinthian capitals from Jamálgaṛhí, and are described by their discoverer as follows:—

"The human figures, which are introduced in the spaces between the acanthus leaves, are all small, and do not interfere in the least degree with the treatment of the foliage. When there is only one figure, it is always that of Buddha, either sitting or standing, and, when there are three figures, the middle one is of Buddha, and the others are attendant Arhans. These figures are never obtrusive, and they are always so placed that, to my eye, they harmonize most agreeably with the surrounding and overhanging foliage."‡

* *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 174.

† The quotation is copied from Cunningham, *Archæol Rep.*, Vol. V, p. 193, where the original is said to be in an essay by Mr Freeman published in Macmillan's Magazine; but no exact reference is given. Mr. Freeman alludes briefly to the subject in his separately published essays on Italian architecture.

‡ Cunningham, *Archæol Rep.*, Vol, V, p. 193. On the same page the author makes an unfortunate slip, and places Caracalla "in the beginning of the first century

Whatever be the æsthetic merits or demerits of the practice of introducing human figures into the Corinthian capital, it was a Roman practice. No one will contend that the capitals in the Baths of Caracalla are imitations of those in the Gándhára monasteries. It follows that the Gándhára capitals are imitated either from those in the Baths of Caracalla, or others of similar design of the same period. The reign of Caracalla extended from A. D. 211 to 217; and the necessary inference is that the Jamálgaṛhí capitals with human figures are later than A. D. 217.

This inference as to the date of the Jamálgaṛhí sculptures derived from the character of the capitals is in complete accordance with the conclusions deducible from an examination of the style of the sculptures in relief.

Before quitting the topic of the Indo-Corinthian capitals, it is only just that I should complete the account of Mr. Fergusson's views as to their date. He argues that their form argues a date later than the reign of Constantine (A. D. 306—337), after which time "the design of the capitals went wild, if the expression may be used. The practice of springing arches from them, instead of supporting horizontal architraves, required a total change, and in the West it produced exactly the same effects that we find in Gándhára.* The capitals for instance, in the churches of St. Demetrius and that now known as the Eski Jouma of Jouma at Salonica, both built in the early part of the 5th century, are almost identical in design with these, and many of the churches in Asia Minor and Syria show the same 'abandon' in design, through frequently in another direction."

I have no doubt that Mr. Fergusson is right in comparing the Gándhára capitals with those of the two Syrian churches belonging to the early part of the fifth century which he names, and that a general resemblance exists between the objects compared. Such a general resemblance is quite natural, even if there be an interval of fifty or a hundred years between the Syrian and the Indian pillars. But, if Mr. Fergusson intended to suggest that the Jamálgaṛhí pillars were exe-

of the Christian era," and thence argues for the early date of the sculptures. Mr. Fergusson, in correcting this accidental error, allowed himself to fall into a similar one, and dated the baths of Caracalla in the reign of Constantine.

* *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 178, with references to Texier and Pullan's Byzantine Architecture, and De Vogüé's Syrie Centrale. The Syrian pillars figured by De Vogüé display certainly a great 'abandon' of design, but they have no resemblance whatever to the Gándhára forms. I except, of course, the comparatively regular Corinthian capitals at Palmyra and Baalbec, which are not much dissimilar from the Gándhára varieties.

cuted subsequent to the reign of Constantine, I cannot agree with him. They belong rather to the Antonine period, and may be referred with approximate correctness to A. D. 250, the Indian development being necessarily a little later than its Roman original.

I do not know whether true structural arches, carried on Corinthian pillars, were employed in the construction of the Gándhára monasteries or not, but it is probable that they were; for the reliefs show numerous examples of arches carried on such pillars, and used as decoration.

Mr. Fergusson's hint that it would perhaps be more accurate to call the Indo-Corinthian capitals Byzantine than either Greek or Roman does not seem to me a fruitful one. The term Byzantine may, of course, be used with reference to any Roman art of the fourth century,* to which period some of the Gándhára sculptures must be referred, but it generally connotes the formal, hieratic, and long stationary style of later date. The good Gándhára works do not seem to me to be characterized by the hieratic stiffness which is the special note of Byzantine art, although some of them are closely related to works executed in the reign of Constantine; and when the school began to decay, the art of Gándhára passed, not into Byzantine formalism, but into Hindú barbarism.

When Mr. Fergusson wrote, the erroneous date which he assumed for the Amarávatí rails, and the inferences which he drew from the discovery of the coin of Yaśo Varman in the great tope at Mánikyálá predisposed him to assign an unduly late date to the Gándhára school.

Mr. Fergusson rightly observed that some of the Gándhára sculptures might be mistaken for early Christian works, but he did not follow out the hint thus given, and the remark, though perfectly true, has not attracted much attention. He supported the observation by a cursory reference to the early Christian sarcophagi and ivories. I have examined the fine collection of ivories, original and casts, in the South Kensington Museum, and, while admitting that some have really an artistic relation with the Gándhára work, I venture to think that the relation is not very close.

The representation of Christ standing under a small arch, supported on fluted columns, with florid capitals of a modified Corinthian form, as seen on the front of the Brescia casket, dating from the fifth or sixth century, is undoubtedly akin to the Gándhára representations of Buddha; and the procession of Joseph and his brethren on the Ravenna chair recalls, though less vividly, some of the processional scenes of the

* Constantinople was formally consecrated as the New Rome in A. D. 330.

Indian reliefs.* But the ivories do not seem to me to be exactly contemporary with the Indian work.

The closest parallels to the Gándhára sculptures in relief are to be found among the remains of early Christian art, though not among the ivory carvings. These parallels are to be found in a place where we should hardly expect them, the Catacombs of Rome.

It would be impossible by any number of pages of mere description to bring home to the reader's mind the reality of the likeness here asserted, but a comparison of the heliogravure plates of the Gándhára sculptures edited by Major Cole with the similar plates of the sculptures in the Catacombs in Roller's work will convince any one who takes the trouble to make it that the connection between the two, however it came to pass, is very close indeed.†

I shall merely give references to the plates in M. Roller's book which closely resemble Major Cole's.

Pl. XLII. A sarcophagus, "à demi-païen, à demi-chrétien," from the cemetery of Callixtus, and probably dating from the third century. The arrangement of the whole composition much resembles that of many of the Gándhára reliefs, and the posture of the figure of Psyche is nearly identical with that of Prajápatí in the Nativity group from the upper monastery at Nuttu, described *ante*, p. 124.

Pl. XLIV. Sarcophagus of St. Constantia, with vintage scenes and genii; 4th century.

Pl. XLV. Sarcophagus from the Basilica of St. Paul, with various scenes of the life of Christ and His disciples, sculptured in high relief; 4th century. The scenes in this composition are not separated by columns. The resemblance in general effect to some of the best Gándhára sculptures is very strong.

* Westwood, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Fictile Ivories in the South Kensington Museum* (1876), Pl. II, III. Compare the large Catalogue of Original Ivories in the same Museum by Maskell (1872), and the little hand-book by the same writer, entitled *Ivories, Ancient and Mediæval.* Other references are given by Fergusson in *I. and E. Architecture*, p. 182.

† *Les Catacombes de Rome, Histoire de l' Art et des Croyances Religieuses pendant les premiers Siècles du Christianisme*, par Théophile Roller, Paris, Vve. A. Morel et Cie.; 2 vols. large folio n. d., with 100 heliogravure plates. Readers who cannot obtain access to this work or De Rossi's publications may verify the comparison made by reference to "*Roma Sotterranea, or an Account of the Roman Catacombs especially of the Cemetery of St. Callixtus;* compiled from the works of Commendatore De Rossi, with the consent of the author. New edition, rewritten and greatly enlarged, by Rev. J. Spencer Northcote, D. D., Canon of Birmingham, and Rev. W. R. Brownlow, M. A., Canon of Plymouth;" 2 volumes, 8vo., London, Longman's, Green and Co., 1879, with numerous engravings.

Pl. XLVIII. Resurrection of Lazarus, and other incidents ; 4th, or possibly, 5th century. The thick, stumpy figures much resemble some of those in reliefs from Nuttu and Sanghao.

Pl. XLIX. Sarcophagus of 4th or 5th century, with a long row of worshippers.

Pl. LIV. Representation of an *agapé* feast; 5th century. The winged genii and other figures much resemble those seen in Gándhára art.

Pl. LVIII. Sarcophagus of Constantine in the Lateran Museum; 4th century. Relief sculptures with intercolumniations and architrave. Christ is seated in the centre compartment, like Buddha in the Gándhára compositions.

Pl. LIX. The celebrated sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, dated A. D. 359. Various scenes are represented in panels divided by columns. The style is very similar to that of good Gándhára work.

Pl. LX. Five sarcophagi of the 4th century ; various subjects.

Pl. LXVIII. Adoration of the magi; 4th century, compare the Gándhára representation of the four kings offering the precious bowls to Buddha. One example of this is in the Lahore Museum, No. 405 of Cunningham's *Descriptive List*, and another, (or possibly the same work), is figured by Major Cole.

Pl. LXIX. The Epiphany ; 4th century.

Pl. LXXVI. Elijah ascending to heaven in a four-horsed chariot ; 4th, or possibly 3rd, century.

Pl. LXXXI. Sarcophagus, probably of about 5th century.

Pl. LXXXII. Sarcophagus of 5th century.

Pl. LXXXVII. Worship of the *labarum* symbol, the cross enclosed in a circle, elevated in the centre compartment of an intercolumniated relief ; 5th century.

This composition has a very strong resemblance to the representation of the worship of the *Trisúl*, the emblem of the Buddhist faith, in Major Cole's volume.

It is, as I have said, impossible by means of mere verbal description to express the intimate relation which exists between the art of Gándhára, and these Christian sculptures from the Catacombs, which range in date from about A. D. 250 to 450 ; but it is equally impossible for any person to compare photographs of the two sets of objects, and to fail in perceiving the likeness, in some cases almost amounting to identity, of style and treatment. The evident analogy, too, between the representations of the Buddha and the Christ shows that there is a substantial identity of subject, veiled under difference of name, as well as in treatment. The facts invite speculation as to the possibility and probability

of an appreciable amount of Christian influence on the later development of Buddhism, but I cannot venture at present to embark on the tempting, though perilous, sea of conjecture to which such speculation would lead me.

I have shown above that no difficulty exists in supposing that Indian art may have been affected by the Palmyrene variety of the cosmopolitan Roman style. Inasmuch as that style was cosmopolitan, it is impossible to say that any given Indian adaptation of a Roman model was borrowed from the art of Palmyra or any other particular locality. If we find an Indian sculpture nearly identical with one at Palmyra, all that can be safely asserted is, that both have a common origin, and date from approximately the one period, while there is no reason why the Indian imitation should not have been copied directly from a Palmyrene model.

Bearing in mind these explanations, it is interesting to observe that a frieze from the upper monastery at Nuttu, reproduced in Major Cole's Plate 16, figure 1, is substantially identical with the Palmyrene frieze engraved in Wood's Plate 41.

The latter adorns a building which bears an inscription recording the execution of repairs during the reign of Diocletian (A. D. 284—305), who kept a garrison at Palmyra, but the building, and the frieze with which it is decorated, probably were erected about the middle of the third century.

The Nuttu design consists of a vine stem, knotted into five circles, forming small panels; the first of which, to the left, contains leaves only, the second is occupied by a boy or Genius plucking grapes, the third exhibits two boys playing with a goat, the fourth displays a rudely executed goat sitting up and nibbling the vine, and the fifth represents a boy plucking grapes.

At Palmyra, the figures of the boys and goats are wanting, but the design of the knotted vine is absolutely identical with that in the frieze from Nuttu, and the two works cannot be far apart in date. Somewhat similar scroll patterns are common in Roman art, and occur occasionally in other works of the Gándhára school.

The porphyry sarcophagus of St. Constantia, executed in the reign of Constantine (A. D. 306—337), to which I have already referred (*ante*, p. 165), is adorned with a relief exhibiting the pressing of grapes by winged cupids, set in scrolls of vine-stems, bearing a general resemblance to the design of the Nuttu frieze. The subsidiary garland, acanthus leaf, and animal decorations of St. Constantia's sarcophagus all have a strong likeness to the Nuttu sculptures and other works of the Gándhára school.

I venture to maintain with some confidence that I cannot be far wrong in assuming A. D. 300 as an approximate mean date for the remains of the upper monastery at Nuttu. This chronological determination is of special value because the sculptures from this site, though extremely various in subject, are probably all contemporaneous, or nearly so. The whole site occupied an area measuring only about 80 by 60 feet, and 79 objects were found within this small space. Most of these are stone sculptures, which lay round two small *stúpas*, each ten feet in diameter, that occupied the centre of the building. Fragments of plaster figures were found at a distance of a few feet from the miniature *stúpas*.*

The varied collection of sculptures obtained within this small space comprises the Nativity scene, (*ante*, p. 123), the very elegant figure of a woman standing under a conventional palm-tree, (*ante*, p. 124), a specimen of the adaptation of the Rape of Ganymede, (*ante*, p. 134), two examples of the death-bed scene or *parinirvána*, (*ante*, p. 125), and numerous figures of Buddha associated with his disciples, the master being sometimes represented with both shoulders draped, and wearing moustaches, (*ante*, p. 127).

It seems reasonable to suppose that sculptures obtained within such a very limited area, and belonging to one school of art, cannot be very widely separated from one another in date. It is not likely that they were all executed in a single year, but, for the purposes of art history, they may be safely regarded as contemporaneous.

If then I am right in fixing A. D. 300 as the approximate date for this group of subjects, a valuable standard for the chronology of the whole school has been rendered available, and we learn that, at the date specified, all the subjects named had been adopted by Buddhist artists as proper themes for the exercise of their skill.

I cannot attempt to indicate every instance in which the art of Gándhára appears to be an echo of that of imperial Rome, and shall quote but few more such instances. The representation of a long roll or undulated garland carried by boys is one of the commonest subjects treated in the Gándhára friezes. A specimen is thus described by Dr. Anderson;—"G. 94, *a* to *d*.—Four portions of a frieze. Children supporting on their shoulders a long undulated garland, on which are tied bunches of grapes, and other ornaments; in the drooping folds above which, in some, appear the busts and heads of winged human figures, and, in one, a bird of prey with extended wings, while, in others, the intervals are filled with floral devices."†

* Cole, *Second Report*, p. cxxiii, Pl. 6 (plan and elevation).

† Anderson's *Catalogue*, Part I, p. 241. Cf. Cole's heliogravure plate 7, figures 2, 3.

Numerous illustrations might be quoted in proof of the proposition that designs of this class are Roman in origin, but I shall content myself with referring to one, a frieze found in the Palestrina territory, probably dating from the time of Constantine, which represents a very large garland carried by boys.*

The same subject occurs repeatedly in the sculptures of Amarávatí, though treated in more Indian style. A notable distinction between the methods of treatment in Gándhára and at Amarávatí is that the Gándhára artists always give the roll an imbricated surface, such as is commonly seen in Roman art, whereas the Amarávatí sculptors mark the surface with lines in a manner of their own. But I suspect that at Amarávatí, as well as in Gándhára, the motive was borrowed from Roman art.

The Buddhist artists, following the usual Indian practice, converted the foreign motive to the purposes of their own ceremonial, and, as Sir A. Cunningham has pointed out, used the Roman garland to represent the light serpentine frame of bamboo covered with tinsel, which was carried in procession at Buddhist festivals, as it is to this day in Burma.

I have already referred to the fact that the conventional representation of the *parinirvána* or death-bed of Buddha is borrowed from the sculptures of Roman sarcophagi or Græco-Roman sepulchral reliefs (*ante*, p. 126).

I have also mentioned (*ante*, p. 136) that the representations of winged animals, and marine monsters, and the comic friezes of boys riding on lions and other beasts, so common in the early Buddhist sculptures both of Gándhára and India Proper, are ultimately derived from the works of the Alexandrian schools of Greek art, which are supposed to trace their parentage to Scopas.

The early examples of this class of subjects which occur in the interior of India, and are prior in date to the establishment of the Roman empire, must be imitations of Greek models. In all probability the artists of Buddha Gayá and Bhárhut obtained their knowledge of these foreign forms by means of the sea commerce conducted with Alexandria through the inland depot of Ozene (Ujjain), and the port of Barygaza (Bharoch).† At Amarávatí it is possible that the channel of communication was Roman.

The Gándhára compositions dealing with similar subjects should be compared, not with Greek art, but with the representations of the

* Visconti, *Museo Pio-Clementino*, Vol. VII, pl. XXXV.

† See the Introduction to McCrindle's translation of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea.

Triumph of Bacchus, and of processions of the Genii Bacchici and Genii Circenses, many examples of which may be seen in Visconti's plates, and in other illustrated works on Roman art.

It is not easy to determine the chronological sequence of the various remains in the Yúsufzai country.

"The principal groups of ruins," remarks Sir A. Cunningham, "are at Sháhbázgaṛhi, Sáwaldher, and Sahri Bahlol in the plain; and at Ránígat, Jamalgaṛhi, Takht-i-Bahi, and Kharkai in the hills. There are similar remains at many other places, as at Topi, Ohind, and Zeda in Utmanzai; at Túrli, Baksháli, and Gharyáli in Súdam; and at Matta and Sanghao in Lúnkhor."*

To this list must be added the ruins of the monasteries at Mián Khán and Nuttu, which lie close to those at Sanghao, and were explored by Major Cole.

The buildings and sculptures of Jamálgaṛhí were the first described, and are the best known. It is very unfortunate that no accurate record has been kept in many cases of the exact site where certain sculptures were found, and the consequent uncertainty greatly hinders satisfactory discussion. But it is certain that by far the largest proportion of the specimens of Gándhára art in the Indian Museum at Calcutta came from Jamálgaṛhí, and that some of the best specimens in the British Museum came from the same locality. The Gándhára school was in its prime when the Jamálgaṛhí sculptures were executed. I have shown (*ante*, p. 163) that the Indo-Corinthian capitals found there are later than A. D. 217. So far as I can see at present, the Jamálgaṛhí remains do not vary much in style, and their execution cannot be extended over a very long period. The best may be dated A. D. 250, and the latest A. D. 300. Of course, all such dates must be regarded as mere approximations in round numbers.

I have adduced (*ante*, p. 168) reasons for believing that the sculptures from the upper monastery at Nuttu are slightly later, dating from about A. D. 300. Those from the lower monastery at the same site belong to the same period.

The Sanghao sculptures, which are fully illustrated by Major Cole, are in general contemporaneous with those at Nuttu, but some of the Sanghao works look a little later.

Many of the sculptures from Mián Khán, which are illustrated by Major Cole's heliogravures Nos. 23 to 30 inclusive, seem to me superior in execution to, and more Greek in style than, those from other sites. But very little difference can be discerned between the work at

* *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. V, p. 5.

Mián Khán and the best at Jamálgaṛhí. Some of the Mián Khán specimens may be as old as A. D. 200, though none, I should think, are older.

As to Kharkai no detailed information is available. Sir A. Cunningham merely notes that he saw a large collection of sculptures from this locality in the possession of Mr. Beckett, and that he obtained a considerable number himself "similar in all respects to the sculptures that have been dug up at other places."* Inasmuch as Sir A. Cunningham's criticisms are chiefly concerned with the objects obtained at Jamálgaṛhí, it may be assumed that the Kharkai sculptures are not remote in date from those procured at that locality.

"The remains at Sáwaldher, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the east of Jamálgaṛhí, are mostly covered by the houses of the village, and are, therefore, inaccessible. It is believed, however, that some of the finest specimens in the Lahore Museum were obtained at this place by Dr. Bellew."† If this belief be correct, the Sáwaldher ruins must be as old as those at Mián Khán, and it is possible that some of the buildings may have been older, and contained works tracing their parentage directly to Greek art. It is a great pity that the objects in the Lahore Museum were not properly labelled.

The excavations at Sahri Bahlol proved that the site had been occupied in very ancient times, perhaps as early as B. C. 2,000,‡ and the existence of the *stúpas*, containing the broken statue imbedded in it, proves that Buddhist votaries occupied the place as late as A. D. 500 or 600 (A. D. *ante*, p. 155). The broken statue was particularly well executed, and presumably may be referred to the third century.

The information respecting the sculpture at Takht-i-Bahí is very scanty. Mr. Fergusson, from examination of photographs, judged that the remains at this place are of considerably later date than those at Jamálgaṛhí, and his judgment on a question of relative date is entitled to the greatest respect.

At Takht-i-Bahí, a court was excavated, surrounded on three sides by lofty chapels, each of which seems to have enshrined a colossal plaster statue of Buddha, some twenty feet, or more, in height. Such colossal plaster images do not appear to belong to a very early stage of Buddhist art, and their presence confirms Mr. Fergusson's suggestion that the remains at Takht-i-Bahí should be placed late in the series. Perhaps A. D. 400 to 450 may be assigned as a tentative date.

To sum up, I accept the numismatic evidence, agreeing as it

* *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. V, p. 54.

† *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

does with the architectural, that the Ionic pillars found in two temples at Taxila, east of the Indus, date from about the beginning of the Christian era, and are, with the exception of a very few sculptures of the same period, the earliest known examples of Indo-Hellenic work in the Panjáb. These pillars I regard as results of the operation of Hellenistic, as distinguished from Roman, influence. Hellenistic ideas can also be traced in the early Buddhist sculptures, which were executed prior to the establishment of the empire of the Cæsars, at Bhárhut, Buddha Gayá, and other places in the interior of India.

The sculptures from the Yúsufzai country, the kingdom of Gándhára properly so called, which lies west of the Indus, in the immediate neighbourhood of Pesháwar, are, I believe, the work of a local school, probably founded by a foreign colony, which drew its inspiration directly from Roman, and only remotely from Greek art. This local school may be conveniently designated either as the Gándhára or Pesháwar school. The name Græco-Buddhist proposed by Dr. Leitner cannot be asserted to be incorrect, all Roman being only a modification of Greek art, but the term Romano-Buddhist would be much more appropriate.

I cannot say what circumstances caused the establishment at Pesháwar of this peculiar local school, but I do not agree with Sir A. Cunningham in associating it with Kanishka and his immediate successors of the Kushán dynasty, A. D. 80 to 200. On the contrary, I am of opinion that the earliest works of the Romano-Buddhist school of Pesháwar date from about A. D. 200, and that all the sculptures of any considerable degree of artistic merit were executed between that date and A. D. 350. The style probably lingered in decay as late as A. D. 450, but not later.

It follows that I hold that there is a wide interval, at present unbridged, between the scanty remains of early Indo-Hellenic work in the Panjáb, and the abundant specimens of later Indo-Roman work.

The style of the Romano-Buddhist sculpture and architectural decoration shows some affinity with the style of the great temples at Palymra and Baalbec, belonging to the second and third centuries A. D., but its closest relationship, (and the connection is very close indeed), is with the Roman Christian sculpture of the period A. D. 250-450, as seen in the catacombs.

I am well aware that the opinions above expressed are open to dispute, and that I am liable to be thought over-venturesome for expressing them in such positive language. They are, however, the result of a careful and prolonged study of the subject, and I submit them for discussion in the confidence that a distinct expression of definite opinions will bring out clearly the issues to be decided, and prepare the way for final judgment.

Section VI. THE INDIAN SCHOOLS OF PAINTING.

The mention of an Indian school of painting must seem absurd to a reader acquainted only with modern India, where no trace of the existence of pictorial art can be discerned, unless the pretty, though conventional, miniatures which a few craftsmen at Delhi are still able to execute, be counted as an exception.

The paintings exhibited in the show rooms of Rajas' palaces, and the decorations of modern temples and private houses are scarcely more deserving of the name of art than the caricatures scribbled by boys on the wall of their schoolroom. In the India of to-day painting and sculpture are both lost arts. The little feeling for beauty that survives is almost confined to small bodies of skilled artizans, and is with them rather the inherited aptitude of the members of a guild for the work of their trade, than a genuine artistic taste. This statement may seem very shocking to the amiable gentlemen who, of late years, have bestowed unmeasured praise upon the æsthetic merits of Indian carpets, shawls, vases, and so forth, but 'tis true 'tis pity, and pity 'tis 'tis true.

My concern, however, is with the past rather than the present, and I must not tilt against South Kensington windmills. Whatever be the merits of modern productions, ancient India certainly produced paintings which deserve to be ranked as works of art. They do not, I believe, deserve a very high rank, when compared with the world's masterpieces—no Indian art work does—but they are entitled to a respectable place among the second or third class. The utter inability of the modern Hindú to express anything human or divine with either brush or chisel produces in the mind of the European observer in India a feeling of surprise when he finds a sculpture or painting which can be described as the work of an artist, and admits of comparison with the productions of Europe, and inclines him to exaggerate the merit of his treasure trove. The Gándhára or Pesháwar sculptures, which have formed the principal subject of this paper, would be admitted by most persons competent to form an opinion, to be the best specimens of the plastic art ever known to exist in India. Yet even these are only echoes of the second rate Roman art of the third and fourth centuries. In the elaboration of minute, intricate, and often extremely pretty, ornamentation on stone, it is true, the Indian artists are second to none. The stone-cutters in Gándhára and at Amarávatí display the same skill in drawing elaborate patterns, and the same skill in executing them, which we now admire in the work of the modern carpet-weavers and vase-makers. But in the expression of human passions and emotions Indian art has completely failed, except during the time when it was held in Græco-Roman leading strings, and it has scarcely at any time essayed an attempt to give visible form to any divine ideal.

Such being the deficiencies of Indian sculpture, the same may be looked for in Indian painting.

The sculptures of Gándhára, Amarávatí, and the Western Caves frequently show traces of paint, from which it appears that the Indians adopted the common Greek practice of using colour to heighten the effect of sculpture. No Indian coloured sculpture, however, has sufficiently retained the pigment to allow modern critics to judge of the effect produced. In Gándhára the gilder's art was freely employed, in addition to that of the painter, in order to add to the magnificence of sculpture. Such extraneous aids, whether employed by Greeks or Indians, seem to our modern taste derogatory rather than helpful to the dignity of sculpture, and, this being so, we need not regret the loss of the pigment and gilding, which would in our eyes have vulgarized sculptures, which we can honestly admire as they stand in naked stone.

But, besides these questionable expedients, the artists of ancient India knew how to supplement sculpture by the art of painting in forms recognized by all to be legitimate. Mr. Fergusson expresses the confident belief that paintings, such as are commonly called frescoes, contributed to the decoration of the Gándhára monasteries. It is very probable that his belief was well founded, but no scrap of any such painting has yet been found, and at present a Gándhára school of painting has only a hypothetical existence.

In Western India the destroying hand of time has been a little more merciful, and has spared enough of the ancient paintings to show that during the first five centuries of the Christian era India possessed artists who could paint pictures of, at least, respectable merit.

Fragments of paintings on walls and ceilings can be detected in the cave temples of the Bombay Presidency at several sites, but the only localities where intelligible pictures have survived, so far as is known at present, are Ajaṇṭá in the Nizam's dominions and Bágh in the district of Ráṭh in the south of Málwá. The paintings at the latter place are known only from brief descriptions in Messrs. Fergusson and Burgess' works, which are not sufficient to form the basis for critical discussion.*

Our knowledge of ancient Indian painting is practically restricted to the pictures on the walls and ceilings of the celebrated caves at Ajaṇṭá. No attempt has yet been made to discuss methodically these interesting

* *Cave Temples of India*, pp. 363-366; and *Notes on Bauddha Rock Temples of Ajaṇṭá*, pp. 94, 95. Recently a series of remarkable Jain paintings has been discovered at Tirumalai, 30 miles south of Vellore in the Madras Presidency. The paintings belong to two distinct periods, but their dates have not yet been determined. (*Proc. Govt. of Madras, No.* 803, *Public, dated* 11*th June*, 1887.)

paintings, or to determine definitely their place in the history of art.* I think that any qualified critic who undertakes the study of these works will find that they are well worth attentive examination, from the points of view both of the archæologist and the artist, but such qualified critic, competent to grasp alike archæological and artistic problems, has not yet come forward.

I cannot pretend to write a criticism on the Ajaṇṭá paintings. I have not had time to study them minutely, nor have I the technical knowledge requisite to enable me to determine their æsthetic value. But I am fully persuaded that they are to be numbered among the fruits of foreign teaching, either by Greeks, or Roman pupils of Greek masters, and, holding this opinion, I cannot omit all notice of them from an essay which aims at giving a general, though imperfect, view of the manner and degree of Græco-Roman influence on the art and other elements of the civilization of ancient India.

At Ajaṇṭá fragments of painting exist in thirteen caves, but the principal remains are found in seven. "The Ajaṇṭá pictures are not frescoes in the true acceptation of the term. The painting was executed on a coat of thin, smooth plaster, the thickness of an egg-shell, which was laid on a groundwork composed of a mixture of cowdung and pulverized trap, rice-husks being sometimes added to increase the binding properties of the mixture."†

As regards the style of the pictures Mr. Griffiths' general criticism is to the effect that there is "little attention paid to the science of art—a general crowding of figures into a subject, regard being had more to

* The most competent account of the Ajaṇṭá paintings yet published is that given in the second work referred to in the preceding note. The full title of the book is "*No.* 9, *Archæological Survey of Western India. Notes on the Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajaṇṭá, their Paintings and Sculptures, and on the Paintings of the Bágh Caves, Modern Bauddha Mythology, etc.* By J. Burgess, M. R. A. S., etc., Bombay, 4to.; Printed by order of Government at the Government Central Press, 1879." This work is now out of print, and sells at double its original price. It is illustrated by twenty-nine plates, uncoloured, fifteen of which are devoted to the paintings.

Four pretty good uncoloured plates illustrate Dr. Rájendralála Mitra's paper on the paintings in Vol. XLVII (1878) of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The architecture and sculpture of the Ajaṇṭá caves are discussed with great fulness in Vol. IV of the Reports of the Archæological Survey of Western India, and are there illustrated by splendid autotype plates, but the paintings are scarcely noticed in that volume.

The volume of *Notes*, the full title of which has been given above, belongs to a series of minor treatises in paper covers, issued by the Bombay Government preliminary to the publication of the costly and elaborate series of Reports.

† *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 152.

the *truthful* rendering of a story than to a *beautiful* rendering of it:—not that they discarded beauty, but they did not make it the primary motive of representation."*

The range of date of the Ajaṇṭá paintings is very nearly the same as that of the Gándhára sculptures, though some of the former are earlier, and some may be a hundred years, or even more, later than any of the latter. The earliest paintings at Ajaṇṭá, those on the side walls of Cave No. X, are referred by Mr. Burgess to the latter part of the second century A. D. To a large extent the Gándhára and Ajaṇṭá works are certainly contemporary, and it is *primâ facie* probable that, if the sculptures echo the ideas of the art of imperial Rome, paintings of the same period should not have escaped the influence of the cosmopolitan canons of taste which then determined the forms of art. I am not prepared to prove in detail the Greek or Roman parentage of the Ajaṇṭá paintings, but I have little doubt that critical study will prove them to be more Roman than Greek. Their realism, on which Mr. Griffiths comments, is one of the most characteristic features of the Gándhára sculptures, and is thoroughly Roman. Some of the panels, too, filled with elegant floral decorations are extremely like Roman work in appearance.

The Gándhára sculptures are so closely related to the Christian sculptures in the Catacombs of Rome, that I venture to suggest that it would be worth while to compare the paintings in the Catacombs with those in the Ajaṇṭá caves. A hasty comparison of copies of both led me to suppose that they might be related, but I am not in a position to offer a definite opinion on the subject.

The neglect of years has, it is understood, in great part destroyed the original paintings at Ajaṇṭá, and, unfortunately, the fine copies in oils, on which Major Gill spent many years, were mostly consumed by the fire at the Crystal Palace in 1860. A few of his copies then escaped, but, I believe, perished in a later fire at South Kensington. Mr. Griffiths, of the Bombay School of Art, has since made a fresh set of copies of a portion of the paintings, and these copies are now exhibited in the Indian Museum at South Kensington. The ordinary visitor, however, can be little impressed by them, in the absence of descriptive labels or catalogue to indicate the history, meaning, or artistic value of the paintings. I should add that, notwithstanding his remarks on the subordinate place given to beauty as compared with realism in the Ajaṇṭá paintings generally, Mr. Griffiths bestows very high praise on particular compositions, and his judgment is supported by the great authority of Mr.

* *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, pp. 25-28. So far as I am aware, Mr. Griffiths' report has not been published in full. Considerable extracts from it are given in the *Indian Antiquary*, and in Mr. Burgess' *Notes*.

Fergusson. One of the most remarkable paintings is in the hall of Cave No. XVI, and is supposed to date from the sixth century. The subject is the death of a lady, apparently a princess. The treatment of it has elicited from Mr. Fergusson the comment that "Mr. Griffiths very justly remarks on this picture that 'for pathos and sentiment and the unmistakeable way of telling its story this picture, I consider, cannot be surpassed in the history of art. The Florentines could have put better drawing, and the Venetians better colour, but neither could have thrown greater expression into it.' "*

Mr. Fergusson also quotes with approval the criticism of Mr. Griffiths on a painting depicting flying figures in the so-called Zodiac Cave, No. XVII :—

"Whether we look at its purity of outline, or the elegance of the grouping, it is one of the most pleasing of the smaller paintings at Ajaṇṭá, and more nearly approaches the form of art found in Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries than any other example there. The easy upward motion of the whole group is rendered in a manner that could not easily be surpassed."†

Whether these panegyrics are overstrained or not I shall not attempt to decide, but I am fully persuaded that no art at all deserving of such praise was ever born on Indian soil.

"India, meditated, brooded, elaborated, but the originating imagination is not found in the dream-life."‡

Whoever seriously undertakes the critical study of the paintings at Ajaṇṭa and Bágh will find, I have no doubt, that the artists drew their inspiration from the West, and, I think, he will also find that their style is a local development of the cosmopolitan art of the contemporary Roman Empire.

Section VII. The Art of Coinage in India.

The opinion expressed by Lenormant that the mechanical process of coining money, properly so called, was unknown to the Indians until they learned it from the Greeks after the invasion of Alexander, was vigorously combated by the late Mr. Thomas on several occasions, and, in my judgment, with success.§

* *Cave Temples of India*, p. 307.

† *Cave Temples of India*, p. 311.

‡ This quotation is taken from a letter of my friend Dr. R. Atkinson, the learned Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Dublin.

§ The question is discursively treated in Mr. Thomas' papers on the Earliest Indian Coinage and on Ancient Indian Weights in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1884, and in his revised edition of the latter paper in the first volume of the *International Numismata Orientalia.*

The truth seems to be that, though all ancient Indian coinages with the slightest pretensions to artistic merit are ultimately of Greek origin, yet the idea of coining money, and a knowledge of the simple mechanical processes necessary for the production of rude coins originated independently in India, or, at the least, were not borrowed from the Greeks.

Although I agree with Mr. Thomas and Sir A. Cunningham in rejecting the theory of the Greek descent of all Indian coins without exception, it must be admitted that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to prove that any particular ancient Indian coin now extant is older than the time of Alexander the Great. Sir A. Cunningham has ventured more than once on the bold assertion respecting the so-called 'punch-marked' coins, that "many of them are as old as 1000 B. C., and perhaps even older."*

When it is remembered that no stone building, sculpture, or inscription anywhere in India is known to exist which is older than the reign of Aśoka, some seventy years after the invasion of Alexander the Great, it is clear that a claim on behalf of a coin to an antiquity of 1000 B. C. is very difficult to substantiate. Nothing in India exists, which can be compared with it, that is not seven and a half centuries later in date. The supposition that any Indian coins are to be dated 1000 B. C. is a mere guess, unsupported by a single fact. I cannot venture to name any other date for the beginnings of Indian coinage, for the reason that nothing really is known on the subject. It is possible that certain coins may be very old, but they cannot be proved to be so, and the independent origin of Indian coinage cannot be demonstrated by showing that any given extant piece is older than Alexander. I do not know of the existence of any Indian coin which may not possibly be later than his time.

The really valid reason for denying the Greek origin of the art of of coinage in India is that several classes of early Indian coins do not exhibit a single clear trace of Greek influence, whereas they are plainly marked by special Indian characteristics.

The coinage of India in its most primitive form consisted of small, oblong, roughly rectangular plates of silver, without any impression on the surface, but struck to a definite standard of weight, namely, 32 *ratís*, or 58½ grains. A slight improvement was made when these little plates of silver were stamped with rough devices of stars, trees, and so forth. These devices were impressed by means of small punches, not covering the face of the coin, and sometimes it appears that all the various patterns on the surface of a single piece, were not executed at once, but were impressed successively at different times by the aid of several

* *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. I, p. 70; II, pp. 229, 264, 288.

punches. Coins of this kind, which were struck both in silver and copper, are, therefore, known to Indian numismatists as 'punch-marked' coins. Like the blanks, which presumably preceded them, they are struck to the Indian standard of 32 *ratis*. This standard cannot, I believe, be in any way connected with the Greek metric system. The punch-marked coins are destitute of legends, but the purely Indian character of their devices and their Indian standard of weight render it incredible that they should be the result of Greek influence.

Other early Indian coins with a general resemblance to the punch-marked pieces were either cast in a mould or struck with a die covering the face of the coin, and some few of the oldest of such cast and die-struck coins, which follow Indian standards of weight, are inscribed with characters of the form current in the days of Aśoka. The devices of these coins are as indigenous as those of the punch-marked class.*

It is, I venture to suggest, by no means unlikely that the use of legends on coins was suggested by Greek example. The earliest inscribed Indian coins are proved by the characters used in their brief legends to belong approximately to the period of Aśoka, whose inscriptions are the earliest examples of the use of the alphabet, afterwards known as Devanágarí. The history of that alphabet has not yet been satisfactorily traced, and the sudden appearance of long and complicated records inscribed in its characters during the reign of Aśoka is an unexplained mystery. The simultaneous first appearance on Indian soil of stone architecture and stone sculpture in the same reign is another mystery. But, however mysterious be the exact origin of all these sudden innovations, it is tolerably clear that they were in some way the result of the foreign, especially the Greek, influences which certainly affected the policy both of Aśoka and his grandfather. It seems to be a plausible conjecture that the introduction of coin legends about the same time was another effect of the same potent foreign forces.

However this may be, the various kinds of early coins, to which I have alluded above, bear no other mark whatever of foreign origin. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the art of manufacturing

* For discussion of these early Indian coins see the above quoted essays by Mr. Thomas. In Cunningham's *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. VI, pp. 213-220, Mr. Carlleyle has attempted a classification of the punch-marked coins, the weights of which are discussed by Sir A. Cunningham in *ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 16. The classes of early coins found at Eraṇ are discussed and figured in *ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 77, Pl. XXIV. See also *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 10; V, p. 154, Pl. XXXI, and VI, p. 167. But the numismatic history of India remains to be written. I assume 1·825 grain as the best established value for the *raṭí*, for the reasons stated in *Journal As. Soc. of Bengal* Vol. LIII, part I, p. 146.

such rude coins was invented in India independently of Greek teaching. But this conclusion does not prove that any such coins should be assigned to a very remote period. It is quite impossible to say when the use of blank or punch-marked rectangular pieces of silver or copper of definite weight began, and it is difficult to say when it ended. I suspect that in out-of-the-way corners of India the old-fashioned punch-marked pieces continued to be struck centuries after coins of more regular fabric had become familiar in the more advanced parts of the country, and that specimens of the ancient, indigenous coinage long continued in circulation side by side with pieces struck in imitation of foreign models. At the present day the people of the districts between Fyzabad and Patna obstinately cling to the custom of using the clumsy, mis-shapen lumps of copper, known as 'dumpy' or 'Gorakhpurí pice,' and refuse to circulate the well-executed, and, to European notions, convenient copper coinage issued from the British mints. During the past year the Government of India has found itself compelled to make an effort to suppress by law the currency of the unauthorized 'dumpy pice.' The mere form, then, of any given punch-marked or other rude uninscribed coin is a very imperfect test of its age.

So far as I can learn, no definite evidence is producible to show that any Indian coin now extant is of earlier date than B. C. 300. The complete absence of all traces of foreign influence on the Indian coins of the most primitive form renders probable the hypothesis that some of them were struck before India entered into at all intimate relations with the peoples of the West, but that is the most that can at present be said in favour of the alleged extreme antiquity of some Indian coins. The arguments of Mr. Thomas, so far as they are based on the references to coins in the Code of Manu and other early Sanskrit books, cannot be regarded as valid, when viewed in the light of modern research into the chronology of Sanskrit literature.

The rare, but now well-known coins of Sophytes, a prince in the Panjáb, who was contemporary with Alexander the Great, are rather earlier than any indigenous Indian coins can be proved to be, and are altogether Greek in device and legend, though perhaps not in weight-standard. They are modelled on the pattern of coins of the Seleucid kings of Syria.*

The extensive mintages of the Græco-Bactrian kings (from B. C. 246 to *circa* B. C. 25) were mostly issued in countries beyond the limits of India, but long circulated freely in the Panjáb, the valley of the Ganges, and the ports of the western coast.

* Gardner, *Catalogue of Coins of Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India*, p. xx.

No known coin can be determined to have been issued by the great Aśoka or any member of his dynasty. The few legends found on coins of the period give no clue to the name of the reigning sovereign. Aśoka must have struck coin to a large extent during his long reign, and, as not a single piece bearing his name has been found, the only possible conclusion is, that the bulk of his coinage consisted of the rude, uninscribed pieces above referred to. These coins were struck, as we have seen, to the Indian standard, and they circulated side by side with the Græco-Bactrian issues, specimens of which are found in large numbers all over Northern India.

The general adaptation in India of Greek or Græco-Roman types of coinage was the result of the Indo-Scythian invasions about the beginning of the Christian era. The indigenous Indian coinage consisted of silver and copper. I cannot undertake to say that gold coins were absolutely unknown in India before the Indo-Scythian invasions, but, if they existed, they were insignificant in quantity, for not a single specimen of them has ever been discovered. The earliest gold coins struck in India, which follow the indigenous scale of weights, are the heavy coins of Chandra Gupta II of the Gupta dynasty, and these are not earlier than A. D. 400. All coins of the Gupta dynasty are die-struck, and their outward form, whether they follow the Indian or the Greek weight-standard, is ultimately derived from Greek originals.*

The Indo-Scythian kings introduced a regular gold currency into India and struck vast quantities of gold coins, as well as of copper. Their gold coins combine various foreign elements, but are essentially Roman *aurei*, equivalent to Greek *staters*. The Gupta coinage is related to the Indo-Scythian, and its devices exhibit faint traces of Greek artistic power as late as A. D. 400. After the break-up of the Gupta empire about A. D. 480, the coinage of India became utterly barbarous, and lost all marks of Hellenic influence on design, legend, or standard.

As regards the origin of coinage in India my opinion, in short, is that the art of coinage in rude forms arose in India quite independently of Greek teaching. Neither the invasion of Alexander the Great, nor the example of his Bactrian successors sufficed to induce the princes of India to abandon their indigenous style of coinage. One petty chief in the Panjáb, Sophytes by name, struck coins after the Greek fashion, but found no imitators in the interior of India. Aśoka and the other sovereigns of the Maurya dynasty continued to issue coins of the old native pattern, on which they did not even inscribe their names.

* For information in detail about the Gupta coinage I must refer to my paper on the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1889, pp. 1-158, with five plates.

The general (though not universal) adaptation of Greek numismatic forms copied from Roman coins was the work of the Indo-Scythian dynasties, whose rule in the Panjáb began a little before the Christian era, and spread over all Northern India during the three following centuries. The introduction of coins of Greek type was synchronous with the development of an extensive gold currency, which partly replaced, and partly supplemented the existing issues in other metals.

The Gupta coinage A. D. 350 to 480 is a development of the Indo-Scythian.

From the fall of the Gupta empire to the establishment of the Muhammadan power all Indian coinages are barbarous and chaotic, and completely destitute of artistic merit.*

The die-cutters of India never attained any high degree of excellence in their art. Those of Bactria, as distinguished from India, produced coins, not, indeed, approaching in beauty those of Syracuse, but possessing characteristics which entitle them to respectful consideration as works of art.

Professor Gardner observes;—"In the types used by Greek kings we find great variety, and they open to us quite a new chapter of Greek art, affording fresh proof of the remarkable originality of the artists of the Hellenistic age.

"In regard to the style we may note two points: (1). The extraordinary realism of their portraiture. The portraits of Demetrius (pl. II, 9), of Antimachus, (V, 1), and of Eucratides, (V, 7), are among the most remarkable which have come down to us from antiquity, and the effect of them is heightened in each case by the introduction of a peculiar and strongly characteristic head-dress, which is rendered with scrupulous exactness of detail.

"(2). The decidedly Praxitelean character of the full length on the reverses. The figures of Herakles (pl. II, 9; III, 3), of Zeus (IV, 4; VII, 2), of Poseidon, (V, 1), of Apollo (V, 4; IX, 10), are all in their attitudes characteristic of the school of Praxiteles."†

Some of the Bactrian coins were struck within the limits of the territories now known as India, but most of them were minted beyond the border, and the Bactrian coinage, as a whole, is foreign to India.

* My remarks must be understood as applying only to Northern India in the widest sense. The system of coinage in Southern India has always been quite distinct, and I do not profess to have studied its history. The Peninsula was never brought into really close political relations with Northern India until the establishment of the British supremacy. Even Aurangzíb's protracted campaigns did little to bridge over the gulf between the two regions.

† *Catalogue of Coins of Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India*, p. lviii.

I do not propose to discuss its relations with the general course of Greek art, and refer to its peculiarities only to enquire how far they affected the art of coinage in India.

The realistic portraits executed by the Bactrian artists were beyond the powers of the Indian die-cutters. The Indo-Scythian coins, except the very latest, are well executed pieces of metal work, but, without exception, almost totally wanting in artistic merit. The effigies of the kings are conventional, and the whole design is stiff and formal. Some of the Gupta coins display more freedom and originality in design, but not a single example of a recognizable portrait can be found, I believe, either in the Indo-Scythian or Gupta series.

The influence of the second peculiarity of the Bactrian coinage noted by Professor Gardner can be discerned in the Gupta series, though not, I think, in the Indo-Scythian. The peculiar attitude of the standing statues of the school of Praxiteles consists in this that the weight of the body is thrown on one leg, the figure being inclined to one side, and bent in a graceful curve so that the hip on the other side is arched outwards. This peculiarity, which in the hands of a good Greek artist, added grace to the representation of the human form, was imitated by the Græco-Bactrian mint masters with considerable success. It caught the Indian taste, but, in the hands of clumsy imitators, was converted into a hideous deformity. An inartistic exaggeration of the Praxitelean attitude is characteristic of many of the Gupta coins of the fifth century, and of much Indian sculpture from an early date until the present day.

Unhappily the history of Indian art, is, as observed by Mr. Fergusson, a history of decay, and the criticism, passed by Sir A. Cunningham on Indian sculpture, applies, *mutatis mntandis*, to other arts :—

"It is a fact, which receives fresh proofs every day, that the art of sculpture, or certainly of good sculpture, appeared suddenly in India at the very time that the Greeks were masters of the Kábul valley, that it retained its superiority during the Greek and half-Greek rule of the Indo-Scythians, and that it deteriorated more and more the further it receded from the Greek age, until the degradation culminated in the wooden inanities and bestial obscenities of the Brahmanical temples."*

The employment of fairly well-executed Greek legends on the coins of the Indo-Scythian kings of the first two centuries of our era proves that the epithet 'half-Greek' applied to their rule by Sir A. Cunningham is not unsuitable. Kanishka and his successors would not have impressed Greek legends on their coins, unless the Greek language had considerable currency among their subjects. I do not, of course, mean

* *Archæol. Rep.*, Vol. III, p. 100.

to suggest that Greek was ever commonly spoken or read in India, but it must certainly have been understood by many of the court officials. The language in the time of Kanishka and Huvishka probably occupied a position similar to that of the English language in India forty or fifty years ago, previous to the development of the existing system of public instruction.

The knowledge of Greek seems to have lingered longest in Gujarát. Corrupt Greek letters are found on the silver coins of Skanda Gupta struck in that region as late as A. D. 450, and they also occur on similar coins of his father and grandfather. The letters on these coins are unmistakeably Greek in form, but meaningless, and are evidently imitations of legends, which were once significant, executed by men unable to read Greek. It is plain, therefore, that even on the western coast, where the agency of maritime commerce had for centuries maintained an active intercourse with the Hellenistic world, all knowledge of the Greek language had died out by A. D. 400. In Northern India such knowledge seems to have been lost two centuries earlier.

It is curious that not a single Greek inscription, other than coin-legends, has yet been discovered either in India or in Afghánistán.

The numismatic facts, to which I have briefly referred, help to render credible and intelligible the alleged Greek influence on Indian literature, science, and philosophy, to the consideration of which I shall now devote a few pages.

Section VIII. The Origin of the Indian Drama.

The existence of a considerable ancient dramatic literature in the Sanskrit language was made known to European readers at the close of the last century by Sir William Jones' translation of Śakuntalá, a charming pastoral play, which is, perhaps, the only Sanskrit work that has taken a place among the literary classics of the world.

Since Sir William Jones' time the Sanskrit plays have attracted many students and translators, notably Horace Hayman Wilson, whose well-known work, *Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus*, is still the leading authority on the subject.

The question of the origin and affinities of the ancient Indian drama has excited the curiosity of scholars, from the time of its discovery until the present day, and various attempts have been made to solve the problem.

The circumstance that the Sanskrit name for a dramatic composition is derived from a root which conveys the idea of dancing naturally suggested the theory, which readily found favour, that "the Indian drama arose, after the manner of our modern drama in the Middle Ages,

out of religious solemnities and spectacles (so-called 'mysteries'), and also that dancing originally subserved religious purposes."*

But this plausible theory has, unfortunately, very little historical basis, and a rival theory that the dramatic literature of India is a direct descendant of the epic seems not to rest on any more solid foundation.†

It is not improbable that rude pantomimic representations of the incidents of sacred stories, resembling the modern Rámlílá, may have been as popular in ancient times as they are now, but even if they were, they could hardly be regarded as the parent of the Indian drama. Such exhibitions in their modern form, of which alone anything is known, remain unchanged from year to year, and appear quite incapable of literary development. Their ancient predecessors, if any existed, cannot be credited with any greater power of generating literature. The Sanskrit drama includes pastorals, elaborate comedies of real life, complex pictures of political intrigue, and other varieties of highly artificial composition. The gap between such compositions and a clumsy 'mystery' like the Rámlílá is vast and unbridged, and the interval between them and displays of sacred dancing or formal recitations of epic episodes is equally wide.

The Indian drama, as Professor Weber remarks, "meets us in an already finished form, and with its best productions." Whence came this finished form; was the ripe fruit not preceded by seed or flower?

It is impossible to believe that the "finished form" sprang, Minerva like, from the head of Kálidása. The dramatic literature of India, like all other ripe productions of art in all countries and ages, must be either the result of an independent, and therefore slow, process of evolution worked out on native soil, or be the more sudden effect of the fertilization of an indigenous germ by a potent foreign influence.

The latter solution of the problem, is, I have no doubt, the true one. It is not easy to disentangle the life history of the indigenous germ, concerning the true affinities of which opinions may well differ,‡

* Weber, *History of Indian Literature.* (Trübner), p. 197. This theory is well expressed in the brilliant article on Sanskrit Poetry and the Hindu Drama by Dean Milman, which appeared in the *Quarterly Review* for 1831. Dean Milman considered that the Indian plays more closely resembled the Spanish than those of any other European country.

† Brockhaus, who denies all Greek influence on the Indian drama, maintains the epic theory. I have not seen his writings.

‡ Windisch himself (p. 6) admits that the Epics contain a dramatic element, and that the Indian drama was indebted to some extent, as the Greek also was, to the epos for help. He is of opinion (p. 8) that dramatic representations, based on epic stories, existed in India before foreign influences were felt, such representations being simply due to the natural desire to see, as well as hear, the stories. This

but the vivifying foreign influence can be isolated, and subjected to microscopic investigation.

That foreign influence which gave India her noble dramatic literature is the same which bestowed upon her the arts of the painter, sculptor, and engraver—the undying spirit of Hellas. India received this, her spiritual guest, but for a little while and grudgingly. When he took wing and fled to more congenial dwelling places the arts soon followed in his train.

Professor Weber was the first to suggest that the representation of Greek dramas at the courts of the Hellenistic kings in Bactria, the Panjáb, and Gujarát awakened the Hindú faculty of imitation, and thus led to the birth of the Indian drama; but the suggestion was qualified, and almost negatived, by the remarks appended to it that the hypothesis does not admit of direct verification, and that no internal connection between the Greek and Indian dramatic literature can be proved.

The Danish scholar, E. Brandes, accepted the hypothesis thus doubtingly propounded, and, rejecting the limitations imposed by its author, boldly undertook to prove the reality of an internal connection between the ancient Indian plays and the New Attic Comedy, as chiefly preserved in the Roman adaptations by Plautus and Terence. I have not seen Dr. Brandes' treatise, nor could I read it if I had, but, fortunately for that large class of persons who are ignorant of Danish, substantially the same thesis has been ably argued by Dr. Windisch in a language more generally intelligible.*

It would be impossible to do full justice to Dr. Windisch's argument otherwise than by a complete translation of his essay. I shall merely attempt to indicate in general terms the nature of some of the leading proofs on which he relies in support of the proposition that the Sanskrit drama is of Græco-Roman parentage.

The general probabilities in favour of the theory that the Indian plays are derivatives of the New Attic Comedy of the school of Menander rest chiefly on the evidence which proves an active and long-continued intercourse between the east and west. Some of this evidence has already been considered (*ante*, p. 157). A special agency for the diffusion of knowledge of the forms of Greek drama among Oriental popu-

opinion seems to be pure conjecture, and is not shared by my learned friend Professor Atkinson. Windisch also holds (p. 10) that epic recitation, and not a lyrical performance associated with music and dancing, was the germ of the Indian drama.

* *Der Griechische Einfluss im Indischen Drama.* Von Ernst Windisch. Aus den Abhandlungen des Berliner Orientalisten-Congresses. 8vo, pp. 106. Berlin, A. Asher and Co., Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1882.

lations was furnished by the travelling companies of players, who are known to have traversed the Hellenistic kingdoms; and the poets, as well as the players, were not averse to travelling. Menander and Philemon were both invited to the court of Ptolemy Soter.

Greek ideas entered India chiefly by two routes, one overland through Palmyra and Bactria, the other maritime through Alexandria and the ports of the western coast, especially Barygaza, the modern Bharoch. We know from the anonymous Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, which was written between A. D. 80 and 89,* that a very active commerce was then carried on between Barygaza and the inland city Ozéné (the modern Ujjain in Sindia's territory), where Aśoka had once been Viceroy, and which, in the time of the author of the Periplus, was the great depôt of the foreign trade.

The scene of the 'Toy-Cart,' the most ancient Indian drama extant, is laid at Ujjain, and several considerations lead Dr. Windisch to conclude that the Indian drama was first developed at that city, as a direct consequence of intercourse with Alexandria. The few known facts in the history of the Bactrian king Menander, who flourished about B. C. 110,† indicate that the overland communication between India and the West must have been briskly maintained in his time. The importance of Palmyra as a commercial depôt (*ante*, p. 157) was of later date. Before the Christian era the Western communications of India were with the Hellenized kingdoms of Asia and Egypt. In the first century after the Christian era they were extended to Rome and the Roman provinces. It is, in my opinion, not at all unlikely that the New Attic Comedy was known to learned men in India through the Latin adaptations of Plautus and Terence as well as in the original Greek.

Whether it be admitted or not that the Indian drama is of foreign origin, no one, I suppose, will venture to deny that ample opportunities existed during several centuries for the importation of all sorts of Greek ideas, dramatic or other.

In the opinion of Dr. Windisch the cumulative effect of the evidence of resemblance in particular points between the Indian and Græco-Roman dramas is so great that "we must recognize either a wonderful case of pre-established harmony, or the existence of Greek influence on the Indian drama." The dilemma appears to me to be expressed with perfect accuracy, and I am fully convinced of the reality of the Greek

* The proof is given in the Introduction to McCrindle's translation.

† This is the date adopted by Professor Gardner in his Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India.

influence on the Sanskrit drama, and further, that without that influence the dramatic literature of India would never have come into existence.

The formal structure of the Sanskrit dramas closely resembles that with which we are familiar in Plautus and Terence. Like the Græco-Roman, the Indian plays are divided into acts and scenes, and each piece is preceded by a prologue. The mere fact of the existence of the prologue in the Indian, as in the European plays, is in itself surprising, and can hardly be regarded as a merely casual coincidence. The improbability that it is such becomes much greater when we observe that in both cases the prologue is devoted to the same purposes, the announcement of the names of the poet and the play, the gaining favour of the spectators, and the preparation of their minds for the piece itself.

Again, it cannot well be the result of accident that the love-story of the Indian drama is in plot, development, and *dénouement* essentially of the same kind as that of Græco-Roman comedy. The plot of the 'Toy-cart,' the most ancient Indian play extant, may be accurately described in the words applied by Rost to the Curculio of Plautus:—"The subject of this comedy is very simple, and depends, as usual, on a secret intrigue, the lover's want of money, and the supplanting of a rival."

The fair Perditas of Plautus and Terence, who eventually prove to be high-born daughters of Athenian citizens, find their parallel in the maid-servants of the Indian plays (*Málavikágnimitra* and *Ratnávalí*), who turn out to be princesses in disguise; and the *ἀναγνωρισμός*, or recognition of the disguised young lady, which is a critical incident in nearly every Græco-Roman play, is repeated, merely with variations of detail, in the Indian adaptations.

Other stock characters of the Terentian comedy have also been imported into the Sanskrit drama.

The *parasitus edax*, the *miles gloriosus*, and the *servus currens*, so familar to all readers of the Græco-Roman comedies, are reproduced respectively as the *viṭa*, *śakára*, and *vidúshaka* of the earliest Indian drama. The external origin of these strongly marked characters, is clearly indicated by the facts that the three personages are found together only in the 'Toy-cart,' the oldest drama, which was composed while India was still in communication with the Hellenistic world, and that all three were discarded by Bhavabhúti, who lived about A. D. 700, when Greek influence had ceased to directly affect India. Dr. Windisch's detailed analysis of these characters is very interesting, but is too long for reproduction.

One striking argument, however, must not be omitted. The Sans-

krit author Bharata, who wrote a technical treatise (*nátyaśástra*) on dramatic art, lays down the rule that the players should be five in number, namely, the *sútradhára*, his assistant, the *páripárśwaka*, the *viṭa*, *śakára*, and *vidúshaka*. This enumeration, Dr. Windisch points out, is equivalent to a list of the regular male personnel of a Græco-Roman play, but does not apply to any extant Indian play, except in so far that all the five personages named appear in the 'Toy-cart,' in which alone the *śakára* is found. The *viṭa* is met with in only one other piece (*Nágánanda*). It is therefore difficult to understand why Bharata should have laid down this rule, unless pieces were extant in his time which conformed to it, and these pieces must have resembled the Greek models at least as closely as the 'Toy-cart' does.

Tho repulsive character of the *lena*, or μαστροπός, the go-between and corrupter of maiden virtue, is faithfully reproduced in the character of the mother of Vasantasená in the 'Toy-cart,' and the elevation of Vasantasená herself to a respectable position by the force of unselfish love may be compared with the story of Silenium in the Cistellaria of Plautus. The very name of the 'Toy-cart' (*mṛichchhakatiká*) recalls the names of Plautine plays such as Aulularia and Cistellaria.

The essay by Dr. Windisch, from which I have quoted, does not exhaust all the arguments which might be adduced in support of his thesis, and the partial analysis of his reasoning given above is far from presenting the case, as stated by him, in its full force. Yet, even what has been advanced in the foregoing pages should, I venture to think, suffice to shake the faith of those who believe in the indigenous origin of the Sanskrit drama, and to prove that strong reasons exist for holding the opinion that India is indebted for the existence of the most generally attractive department in the vast circle of her literature to contact with the artistic Hellenic mind.

It is, perhaps, necessary to observe that no one contends that any extant Indian play is a translation or free adaptation of a given Greek piece. That certainly is not the case. The best Indian plays are the work of native genius of high order, employing native materials in its own way, and for its own ends, but first set in motion by a powerful impulse received from abroad. The case of the drama is analogous to that of the Amarávatí sculptures. I agree with Mr. Fergusson in thinking that those sculptures would never have come into existence, if the latent powers of Indian artists had not been aroused and stimulated by the example and teaching of Greek, or at least of Hellenistic, sculptors, but no one would maintain that the carvings now on the staircase of the British Museum should be classed among the remains of Greek art. They are thoroughly Indian in subject and style, and skilled criticism

is needed to discern the hidden foreign element. So it is with the drama. The plays are Indian, but the idea of composing such plays is Greek.

The case of the sculptures of the Gándhára or Pesháwar school, which I have discussed at such length, is on the contrary, analogous rather to an Indian free translation or adaptation of a Greek play. Those sculptures are close imitations of the contemporary, especially the Christian, art of the Roman empire in the third and fourth centuries, and this fact lies on the surface, visible to any commonly attentive observer. The Roman or Christian subjects have been made to serve Buddhist purposes, but have been transferred bodily to India with little change, save that of name.

Section IX. Græco-Roman influence on the Religion, Mythology, Science, and Philosophy of India. Conclusion.

A smile will, I fear, pass over the gentle reader's countenance when he compares the promise of the title with the performance of the few pages of this section of my essay. A discussion, in any degree adequate, of the topics mentioned in the heading would require the ample room of an octavo to itself, the writer of which should be equipped with a store of varied knowledge to the possession of which I can make no pretension. So far as I am aware, no one has yet attempted such a survey of the religion, mythology, science, and philosophy of India as would give a general view of the boundaries which divide the indigenous components from the foreign. A slight, rough sketch of a survey of the kind will be found in Weber's History of Indian Literature, but a map drawn in more distinct colours is much wanted. I cannot attempt to draw it. The preceding pages will, perhaps, have succeeded in convincing at least some readers that the best elements in the plastic, pictorial, numismatic, and dramatic arts of ancient India are of foreign, chiefly Græco-Roman, origin. In these concluding pages I merely wish to point out that the foreign influence was not confined to those fields, where I have traced its workings in some detail, but extended also to other regions of thought. I am not prepared to follow in detail its operations within those regions, nor to catalogue the instances where its presence may be discerned, and can only offer some unsystematic observations.

The Indo-Scythian coin series affords obvious and conclusive evidence that about the beginning of the Christian era the religions of India and those of the neighbouring countries to the west were acting and re-acting upon each other.

The worship of Śiva was certainly then established among

other cults, in India, and the figure of the god, armed with his trident, and standing beside his sacred bull, is, perhaps, the commonest mythological device of the Indo-Scythian coins. But he is not exactly the Śiva of the mediæval Puráṇas, a Hinduized aboriginal demon. Sometimes he is hardly to be distinguished from the Greek Poseidon, and the Greek writers on India themselves perceived that he was akin to Dionysus. Dr. Windisch shows that all the Sanskrit plays are associated with the worship either of Śiva or his consort Gaurí, and that they were generally performed, like the Greek dramas, at the spring festival. It seems probable that the Hellenistic settlers in India transferred to Śiva some of the honour due to Dionysus, and the idea of the Indian deity must have been influenced by the Greek conception of those gods in the Olympic pantheon who most nearly resembled him.

Some rare coins of the great Indo-Scythian emperor, Kanishka, bear the name of Buddha, BOVΔO in Greek characters, and afford us the earliest known examples of the conventional effigy of the teacher.

Other Indo-Scythian coins, again, present figures of the personified Sun and Moon, as Greek deities, with their Greek names Helios and Seléne, while many others represent a pantheon of Iranian deities, bearing such strange names as Oksho (Okro), Ardethro, and so forth, the meaning of which is only now beginning to be understood. I cannot here pursue this topic further, and only allude to it for the purpose of indicating that both a little before, and a little after, the Christian era Hellenic and Asiatic forms of religion were interacting, and that both Buddhism and Hinduism must have been modified by the contact with other modes of religious belief.

Even so late as A. D. 400 the devices of the Gupta coins show that the conceptions of Hindú divinities were partly based on Græco-Roman ideas. Lakshmí, the goddess of plenty and good fortune, is invested with attributes plainly borrowed from the τύχη, Abundantia, and other personifications of abstract ideas current in the west. The conception of Lakshmí, the consort of Vishnu, glides imperceptibly into that of Párvatí, Durgá, or Gaurí, the consort of Śiva, and is related to some of the forms both of Venus and Cybelé.*

The apparent resemblances between the Puránic legend of Krishna and the Gospel accounts of Christ are well known, and have formed the subject of much discussion. I am inclined to believe that the Krishna myth is really indebted to the Gospels for some of its incidents·

* For the Indo-Scythian coins see Gardner's Catalogue, and articles by Stein, Cunningham, West, and Rapson in the Babylonian and Oriental Record for 1888 and 1889, and Indian Antiquary for April 1888. For the Gupta coinage see Journal R. As. Soc. for 1889, p. 25, etc.

In the early centuries of the Christian era the religion of Christ in one or other of its forms extended over many parts of Asia where it is now extinct, and it *must* have modified the ideas and beliefs of the peoples among whom it flourished. The Gnostic variety or corruption of Christianity was especially popular in the East, and strong reasons exist for believing in Gnostic influence on the Vedantist philosophy of India. The Bhagavad-Gítá certainly seems to have much in common with the Gospels.*

The extraordinarily close resemblance between many of the sculptures of the Gándhára or Pesháwar school, and the monuments of early Christian art at Rome, which was first observed by Mr. Fergusson, has been discussed at some length in an earlier section of this paper (*ante*, p. 164). The resemblance is certainly real, and, however it may be explained, proves with equal certainty that the Christian and the Buddhist artists had many ideas in common. The Buddhism of Gándhára beyond doubt borrowed Christian forms of artistic expression; it would be strange if the Buddhist teachers did not assimilate, along with the forms, some Christian doctrine. But any attempt to follow this speculation further would carry me beyond my depth.

The Gándhára adaptation of Leochares' group representing the Rape of Ganymede (*ante*, p. 133) shows clearly how easy it was for the ancient Indians to adopt a Greek myth, and convert it to the use of their own religions.

Weber maintains that a substratum of Homeric legend underlies the Rámáyana, and gives good reasons for his opinion. The mere fact that such a suggestion can be supported by plausible arguments indicates that the student of comparative mythology must be careful not to assume the Indian origin of every myth which may have on the surface a purely Indian appearance.

I have shown above (*ante*, p. 133) that the Asuras of Puránic mythology are probably Hinduized adaptations of the Greek giants, who warred with the gods.

The remarkable fact that no images of Buddha are found among sculptures at Bhárhut (B. C. 150), and Sánchi (A. D. 80), while they are numerous at Amarávatí (A. D. 180),† suggested to Mr. Fergusson

* See the translation of Dr. Lorimer's 'Appendix to the Bhagavad-Gítá' in Indian Antiquary, Vol. II, p. 283. That author quotes St. Chrysostom, who died A. D. 407, to prove that a translation of the New Testament into some Indian language existed in his time.

† This is the approximate date of the outer rail. The inner rail is later, and some sculptures date from before the Christian era. The remains at Amarávati illustrate the period from about B. C. 100 to A. D. 250 (Burgess, *Buddhist stúpas of Amarávatí and Jaggayapeṭá*, p. 112).

the bold speculation that the multiform idolatry of modern India is due to contact with the image-worshipping Greeks. Mr. Fergusson thus expresses this daring hypothesis in his latest work :—

"I suspect that when the matter comes to be carefully investigated, it will be found that the Indians borrowed from the Greeks some things far more important than stone architecture or chronological eras. It is nearly certain that the Indians were not idolators before they first came in contact with the Western nations. The Vedas make no mention of images, nor, so far as I can learn, [do] any of the ancient scriptures of the Hindus.

"Buddhism is absolutely free from any taint of idolatry till after the Christian era. So far as we can at present see, it was in the Buddhist monasteries of the Gándhára country, where the influence of Græco-Bactrian art is so manifestly displayed, that the disease broke out, which was afterwards so completely to transform and pervade the outward forms, at least, of all the ancient religions throughout India."*

The propositions thus stated with Mr. Fergusson's customary directness cannot be implicitly accepted, although they embody a considerable amount of truth. It is not safe to affirm that Buddhism before the Christian era was absolutely free from idolatry, for the Taxilan Buddhist temples, adorned with plaster images, were probably erected at the close of the first century B. C. and we do not know, though we may reasonably suspect, that the images are of later date. Statues found at Mathurá, and certain coins of Kanishka (*circa* A. D. 78 to 110) prove conclusively that images of the teaching Buddha in his conventional attitudes, both seated and standing, were well known at the close of the first century A. D.† It is rash to affirm that they were unknown a hundred years earlier. A colossal statue of the standing Buddha discovered by Sir A. Cunningham at Srávastí (Sáhet-Máhet) in Oudh seems to be slightly older than the Mathurá images.‡

It is, however, quite true that in Bihár, Central and Western India, no image of Buddha earlier than the Christian era, or perhaps than A. D. 150, is known, and Mr. Fergusson appears to have been right in holding that the worship of images of the founder of Buddhism was introduced from the North West; and it is probable that the development of sculpture, which was undoubtedly stimulated by Hellenic influence, gave encouragement to idolatrous practices.

Among all the departments of Sanskrit literature the elaborate

* *Archæology in India* (London, Trübner and Co., 1884).

† Cunningham, *Archæol. Reports*, Vol. V, p. vii; and Gardner's *Catalogue*, pp. 130, 175.

‡ Cunningham. *Archæol. Rep.*, *ut supra*, and Vol. I, p. 339.

system of Hindú logic, and the marvellous, almost miraculous, structure of grammar erected by Páṇini and his successors have the greatest appearance of absolute originality. Yet some competent scholars are disposed to seek a western origin even for these. The true position of the Sanskrit logicians and grammarians in relation to the teachers of other countries cannot be satisfactorily determined until the main outlines of the chronology of Sanskrit literature are settled definitely within narrow limits of possible error. The radius of error is gradually being reduced, but a long time must elapse before it is brought within an approximation of zero.

In one branch of Indian science the operation of direct and potent Greek influence, however it may once have been doubted, has been fully demonstrated, and is now admitted by all writers competent to form an opinion on the subject. Indian astronomy, in its exacter form, as taught in the Sanskrit text-books is essentially the astronomy of the Alexandrian schools, and its technical nomenclature is to a large extent Greek in a slight disguise. An earlier, inexact astronomy, probably of Babylonian origin, had been known in India long before the works of Alexandrian professors reached her shores, but all Indian astronomy with any claim to scientific precision is Greek. This scientific astronomy was taught by Áryabhaṭá in A. D. 500, and by Varáha Mihira about half a century later, but it was probably known to some persons in India at a considerable earlier date.*

It is obvious that highly abstruse and technical works like the treatises of the Alexandrian astronomers could not have been mastered by the Indian astronomers except by textual study at a time when the Greek language was still intelligible to learned men in India. The extensive importation of Greek technical terms into the vocabulary of Hindú astronomy shows that the Greek works themselves must have been read in India, and also proves that the ideas expressed by those terms were unfamiliar to the native scholars. If the ideas had been familiar, Sanskrit words to express them would have existed, and, if such words had existed, they would have been used, and the foreign terms would not have been imported. The necessity under which the Hindú astronomers lay of borrowing Greek scientific terms by the score

* Pandit Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit observes that there are two distinct and separate astronomical works, each bearing the name of Áryabhaṭá as its author. The first (to which reference is made in the text), known as *Áryabhaṭíyá*, or *Árya Siddhánta*, bears the date S'aka-saṃvat 421 expired, = A. D. 499-500. It has been published by Dr. Kern. The second work, known as the *Laghu-Árya-Siddhánta*, was composed at some time between A. D. 628 and 1150, and appears never to have been printed. These two distinct works are said to have been sometimes confounded by European writers. (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII (Nov. 1888), p. 312).

is very strong evidence that their native astronomy was, from the purely scientific point of view, extremely imperfect.

The knowledge of actual Greek books displayed by the Indian astronomers also shows that there is no improbability in supposing that a limited class of readers in India had studied the texts of Greek plays. Dr. Windisch is content to believe that the Greek elements in the Sanskrit drama, the existence of which he demonstrates, were assimilated by the Indian authors through the agency of performances of Greek plays on the stage. It is not necessary, he says, to assume that the texts were known in India. It seems to me impossible that the resemblances between the Greek and Indian dramas should have been brought about in this casual way. It would be nearly as easy to believe that Áryabhaṭa learned the signs of the zodiac and the term 'diameter' from chatting with ship-captains on the quays of Barygaza. I can see no reason whatever to feel sceptical about the reality of the diffusion to a limited extent of Greek books in Greek among the learned classes of India during the early centuries of our era.

The coins and the manuals of astronomy are incontrovertible evidence that some people there could read Greek, and why it should be supposed incredible that Kálídása could read the plays of Menander I cannot imagine.

We are not bound to accept as literal statements of fact the rhetorically expressed assertions of Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom that the Indians sang the poems of Homer, and that the children of the Gedrosians recited the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles, and may yet feel full assurance that Indian scholars who studied and assimilated Alexandrian manuals of astronomy cannot have been altogether unacquainted with the classic literature of Greece.

I have now reached the bounds to which a general survey of the action of Hellenic influence on ancient India can be conveniently extended at present. The adequate discussion of the Gándhára sculptures alone would fill a goodly volume. The imperfect account of them given above is only intended to stimulate curiosity, and to indicate the directions in which more exhaustive investigation will reward the student.

I do not desire to exaggerate the intrinsic merit of these sculptures, though I feel assured that it is amply sufficient to justify their critical study, and that, even if it were much less than it is, the historical interest attaching to the productions of a school which links together Hellenic and Indian art gives them a right to claim the attention both of Orientalists and of classical scholars.

The discovery of the linguistic and literary treasures of Sanskrit so charmed the imagination of the earlier Orientalists that they lent

a ready ear to the extravagant tales of the pandits, and were willing to attribute the most venerable antiquity and almost absolute originality to the strange civilization and vast literature suddenly brought within their ken.

Modern historical and literary criticism has been steadily engaged in the task of exposing the falsity of Brahmanical tradition or pseudo-tradition, the "lying gabble of Bráhmans," as it has been well called, and of moving up, so to speak, all dates in the early history of India. Páṇini, the grammarian, Manu, the lawgiver, Kálídása, the poet and dramatist, and many other names famed in Indian story, have already been moved up from remote prehistoric, or pre-Christian, times to post-Alexandrian, or post-Christian, dates.*

This process still continues, and simultaneously with the demonstration of the comparatively modern date of all Sanskrit, other than Vedic, literature, the conviction has forced itself upon scholars that the civilization of ancient India was not so indigenous and self-contained as, at first sight, it seemed to be.

India may, apparently, claim with justice to have given birth independently to the mechanical process of coinage, but her weakly numismatic child never attained maturity, and was soon compelled to make way for a stranger of more vigorous growth. The other products of civilization claimed from time to time as independent Indian discoveries are now either proved to be foreign importations, or shown to be, at the best, of doubtful parentage.

I do not know any historical problem more startling at first sight than that propounded by the sudden and simultaneous first appearance in India during the third century B. C. of long documents in two diverse highly developed alphabets, of stone architecture, stone sculpture, chronological eras, inscribed coins, and a missionary state religion.

The problem has not yet been completely solved, and perhaps never can be, but it is certain that the phenomena referred to were largely due to a rapid development of intercourse between India and Western nations in the time of the Mauryan dynasty of Chandra Gupta and Aśoka (B. C. 315 to 222). A further development, or renewal, of that intercourse in the first century before, and the four centuries following, the Christian era, conducted through Bactrian, Alexandrian, and Palmyrene channels, produced new schools of architectural, plastic, and pictorial art, introduced novel types and standards of coinage, taught science in its exacter forms, and gave birth to a dramatic literature of great variety and merit.

* For a convenient summary of much of the recent discussion on the chronology of Indian Literature, see Max Müller's "India, What can it Teach Us ?"

The same occidental influences left enduring marks on the religion and mythology of India, modified her epic poetry, and in the opinion of some competent judges, affected even the grammar, logic, and philosophy which are the most characteristic and original products of Indian thought.

The investigation of the relations between the early civilization of India and that of Western nations is still very incomplete, but it has proceeded sufficiently far to warrant the belief that further research will magnify rather than diminish the debt due by India to Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Greece, and Rome.

Addendum.

When compiling the Bibliographical List (*ante*, page 113) I omitted to notice the following papers :—

(1.) Indo-Grecian Sculptures from the N.-W. Frontier, by Major J. Abbott (with a Plate). *Proc. As. Soc. of Bengal for* 1854, *page* 394.

This communication briefly notices a large box of sculptures presented to the Society which were "dug from the site of a temple on the left bank of the Indus, called Kala, close below Ghazi Huzara. The winged female is from another old site at present called Shah ke Tere in Quatur. They are very inferior in grace and execution to those from Trans-Indus..... Those at Kala seem to have belonged to a Buddhist temple of small size, but very richly and eleborately sculptured, the material being black clay-slate." The plate represents a head from Ráwalpindi.

(2.) Note on a small Indo-Greek Sculpture, by the same, *ibid*, *for* 1858, *page* 261. The figure described and presented to the Society is one of the Atlantean class, purchased from a native, who had found it in an old fort of the Yúsufzai at the foot of the mountains.

(3.) Account of some of the Sculptures in the Peshâwar Museum, by Rev. W. Loewenthal, *ibid. for* 1861, *page* 411.

The account given is, unfortunately, extremely meagre. It mentions Buddhas almost innumerable, kings of various sizes, a lady sitting on a lion, playing the lute, reliefs, and elaborate figures of warriors in

all kinds of dresses, sometimes purely Greek, sometimes purely Oriental, sometimes a mixture of the two.

The only work described in detail is the panel with the three Greek soldiers below, and grotesque figures above, which has been noticed in the text (*Section III, page* 135) Mr. Loewenthal states that this slab was "lately brought from Nagram in Yúsufzai by Lieut. Short." He observes that "some pieces of pottery have also been found in the cantonment [*scil.* Pesháwar], stamped with figures of pure Greek designs." I have not seen any such pottery.

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

Supplement, for No. IV.—1889.

Catalogue of the Central Asiatic Coins, collected by Captain A. F. De Lœssoe, in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.—*By* DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

(With two plates.)

The coins which are described in the subjoined catalogue were collected by Captain A. F. de Læssoe on the northern frontier of Afghánistán, in the years 1884 to 1886, during the time of the Afghán Boundary Commission, on which he was employed as Assistant Political Officer.

The coins were, under the orders of the Government of India, made over by him to Mr. Chas. J. Rodgers of the Archæological Survey, for a preliminary examination and report. They were afterwards presented by the Government of India to the Indian Museum, with a request that duplicates, when available, should be given to the Museum in Lahore and to the British Museum in London.

At the request of the Trustees of the Indian Museum, the coins were carefully examined by me and catalogued. Mr. Rodgers' preliminary list proved of great advantage in this work, and most of his readings and many of his remarks are embodied in the following pages.

A large number of duplicates were presented to the Lahore Museum, and a somewhat smaller number to the British Museum. The numbers from which presentations could be made, are indicated by the marks † and ‡.

The collection will be found to be one of considerable interest. A large number of coins, especially of 'Aláu-d-dín Khwárizmí are either entirely new or, at least, have hitherto not been published. The most representative ones of these have been figured in the accompanying plates.

Abbreviations.

Ar. Ant. = Dr. Wilson's Ariana Antiqua; B. M. C. = British Museum Catalague; Chron. = E. Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathán kings of Delhi; Ind. Ant. = Prinsep's Indian Antiquities (ed. Thomas); Int. Num. Or. = International Numismata Orientalia; J. A. S. B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; J. R. A. S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of England; Num. Chron. = the Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society of England; Num. Or. = Marsden's Numismata Orientalia; Or. = Oriental; Sass. = E. Thomas' Sassanians in Persia.

Explanation.

* prefixed, signifies that the coin is not noted in the existing British Museum Catalogue; † signifies that specimens of the coin have been sent to the British Museum; ‡ signifies that specimens have been sent to the Lahore Museum; *g* signifies that the coin is in good condition, *f*, *t*, *i*, that it is in fair, tolerable or indifferent condition respectively.

CATALOGUE.

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							ROMAN.
1	1	...	1	...	...	42,60	**Antoninus Pius.** *Obv.*, head of emperor; NINUS AU..... *Rev.*, draped female seated on ground, to left. (*i*)
2	1	...	...	1	...	28,13	**Constantius II.** *Obv.*, head of emperor: CONSTANTIUS AUG. *Rev.*, standard between two armed soldiers: GLORIA EXERCITUS; in exergue SMANZ. (*t*)
							GREEK.
3	1	...	1	...	...	47,29	**Alexander.** Drachm. *Obv.*, head of king. *Rev.*, seated Zeus with eagle. (*i*)
4	1	...	1	...	...	55,83	**Antiochus.** Drachm. *Obv.*, head of king to right. *Rev.*, Heracles seated; to left [A]NTIOXO[Y], to right [BA]ΣILE[ΩΣ]. *A barbarous copy or forgery with a hole for suspension.* (*t*)
							BACTRIAN.
5	1	...	1	...	...	60,92	**Eukratides.** Drachm. *Obv.*, head of king; border of dots. *Rev.*, Dioscuri mounted; legend BAΣIΛEΩΣ EYKPATIΔOY. Type like B. M. C., vol. V, 6. Rare. *This specimen is probably a forgery; the legend is smudged and "basileos" is double-struck. None in B. M. C. of* 1886, *but a specimen lately obtained from Gen. Sir A. Cunningham.*
6	1	...	...	1	...	133,92	**Soter Megas.** *Obv.*, bust of king. *Rev.*, horseman. Type like Ar. Ant., pl. IX, 12 (with no fillet to lance, and legend BAΣIΛEY for *βασιλευς*.) (*f*)
							INDO-SCYTHIAN.
7	1	...	...	1	...	263,77	**Kanishka.** *Rev.*, OKPO. Type like Ar. Ant., pl. XII, 17. (*t*)

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							INDO-SCYTHIAN—*Contd.*
8	1	...	...	1	...	225,55	**Oerki** (Ooer). *Obv.*, elephant-rider. *Rev.*, ΜΙΗΟΡΟ (?) Type like B. M. C., No. 153 (p. 155). (*t*)
9	1	...	...	1	...	168,05	**Do.** A crude variety of No. 8. Type like Ar. Ant., pl. XIII, 20. (*t*)
							PARTHIAN.
10	1	...	1	...	...	53,69	**Mithridates I** (Arsaces VI). Type a in Int. Num. Or., vol. I, pl. I, 26 (Gardner). (*t*)
11	1	...	1	...	...	56,94	‡ **Sinatroces** (Arsaces X). Type as in Int. Num. Or., vol. I, pl. III, 2. (*g*)
12	1	...	1	...	...	54,99	**Orodes I** (Arsaces XII). *Obv.* without crescent, as in Int. Num. Or., vol. I, pl. III, 20. (*f*)
13	1	...	1	...	...	59,22	‡ **Do.** *Obv.* with crescent, as in Int. Num. Or., vol. I, pl. III, 23. (*f*)
14	1	...	1	...	...	59,87	**Do.** *Obv.* with star and crescent, as in Int. Num. Or., vol. I, pl. III, 26. (*f*)
15	2	...	2	...	...	58,10	‡ **Phraates IV** (Arsaces XIII). *Obv.* with eagle only, as in Int. Num. Or., vol. I, pl. IV, 6. One has a loop attached to the middle of the obv., to turn the coin into a button, and weighs 59, 85 grains. (*t*)
16	1	...	1	...	...	60,86	**Do.** *Obv.* with eagle, crescent and star, as in Int. Num. Or., vol. I, pl. IV, 12. (*t*)
17	2	...	...	...	2	58,93	‡ **Do.** *Obv.* with Nike, crescent and star, as in Int. Num. Or., vol. I, pl. IV, 11. Apparently a mixture of silver and copper. One is perforated for wearing, and weighs 57,46 grains. (*i*)
18	1	...	...	...	1	56,30	**Do.** *Obv.* with eagle and crescent. *Rev.* with eagle. Not in Int. Num. Or.; but cf. vol. I, pl. IV, 6. Apparently a mixture of silver and copper. New. (*i*)
19	1	...	1	...	...	55,74	‡ **Vonones I** (Arsaces XVII). As in Int. Num. Or., vol. I, pl. V, 4. (*f*)

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							PARTHIAN—*Contd.*
	1	...	1	...	...	56,44	‡ **Goterzes** (Arsaces XX). As in Int. Num. Or, vol. I, pl. V, 20. (*f*)
	3	...	3	...	...	55,14	‡ **Artabanus IV** (Arsaces XXVI) or **Mithridates IV** (Arsaces XXVII). As in Int. Num. Or., vol. I, pl. VI, 5, 22, 24, 25. Two are perforated for wearing, weighing 55,14 (small hole) and 51,66 (big hole); the third is entire, weighing 52,25 grains. (*f*, *i*, *g*) *The entire one has on the rev. a trace of Mongol over-striking.*
22	1	...	1	...	...	54,66	**Vologeses IV** (Arsaces XXXI). As in Int. Num. Or., vol. I, pl. VII, 10. (*t*)
23	1	...	1	...	...	44,10	**Artabanus V** (Arsaces XXXIV). As in Int. Num. Or., vol. I, pl. VII, 19. (*i*)
							SUB-PARTHIAN.
24	1	...	...	1	...	85,02	**Anonymous.** *Obv.*, head of king, to right, with torquis, as in the coins of Arsaces XXIX (Chosroes) in Int. Num. Or., vol. I, pl. VI, 17. *Rev.*, fire-altar as on the early Sassanian coins in Sass., pl. I, 2. Unpublished. (*i*)
							SASSANIAN.
25	1	...	1	...	...	63,20	**Sapor I.** As in Sass., pl. II, 2-6. With a perforation for wearing. (*t*)
26	1	...	...	1	...	162,13	**Do.** As in Sass., pl. II, 8, 9. (*t*)
27	1	...	...	1	...	192,54	‡ **Ardeshir** and **Sapor I.** As in Sass., pl. I, 12. (*i*)
28	1	...	1	...	...	61,95	‡ **Sapor II.** As in Sass., pl. IV, 2, 3. (*f*)
29	1	...	1	...	...	49,54	**Do.** Another variety. As in Sass., pl. IV, 4. (*t*)
30	1	...	1	...	...	62,42	‡ **Firúz I.** As in Sass., pl. V, 8, 9. (*f*)
31	1	...	1	...	...	62,26	**Khusrú I,** Naushírván. As in Sas., pl. VI, 9. (*g*)

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							SASSANIAN—*Contd*
32	2	...	1	...	...	62,44	‡ **Khusrú II**, Parwíz. As in Sass., pl. VI. 14. The less perfect one weighs only 53,01 grains. (*g*)
33	1	...	1	...	...	51,44	**Do.** Of Arab mintage with *bismillah* on margin; Sass., p. 93. Perforated for wearing. (*f*)
34	1	...	1	...	...	27,61	**Yezdegird III.** Small sized coin; not in Sass. *A very small piece broken away; otherwise in good condition.*
							ABBASIDE.
35	1	...	1	...	...	43,87	**Al Mansúr**, 2nd Abbaside. Dirham struck in Madínatu-s-Salám, 152 A. H. As in B. M. C., vol. I, 72 (p. 48). (*g*)
36	1	...	...	1	...	96,12	**Do.** Legends of obv. and rev. areas, as in B. M. C., vol. I, 91 and 104 (p. 196, 201). *Obv.* margin not inscribed, but divided into three sections by three ringlets. *Rev.* marginal legend, indistinctly visible read by Mr. Rodgers بسجستان سنه سبع و اربعين و سبعمايه, *i. e.*, struck in Sijistán, 147 A. H. (*i*)
37	1	...	1	...	...	37,34	**Harún ar Rashíd**, 5th Abbaside. Dirham struck at Ma'adinu-sh-Shásh, 190 A. H. The same as B. M. C., vol. I, 228, (p. 84). With a loop for suspending. (*t*)
38	1	...	1	...	...	45,72	**Al Amín**, 6th Abbaside. Dirham, struck at Madínat Balkh, 195 A. H. General type of coin exactly as B. M. C., vol. I, 246, (p. 90), except that there are six ringlets instead of five. (*f*)
39	1	...	1	...	...	29,50	**Al Mutawakkil**, 10th Abbaside. Fragment (about $\frac{2}{3}$) of a dirham of 24* A. H. Mint lost. General type like B. M. C., vol. I, 317, (plate VI).
40	1	1	...	...	...	54,38	* **Al Muti'a**, 23rd Abbaside. Dínár struck at Hirát, 369 A. H. (*f*) Plate I, fig. 1.

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							ABBASIDE—*Contd.* *Obv.*, small area within single circle, surrounded by double marginal inscriptions. *Area :* لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له *Inner legend :* بسم الله ضربهذا الدنار بهراة سنة تسع و ستين و ثلثماية *Outer legend :* لله [الامر] من قبل و [من بعد و يومئذ يفرح] المومنون بنصرالله *Rev.*, area within single circle, surrounded by one marginal inscription. *Area :* لله محمد رسول الله العظيم الله نوح بن منصور ابوالفتح محمد لله *Margin :* محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى [و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله] و لو كره المشركون
							SHÁH OF KHWÁRIZM.
41	1	1	...	...	...	36,87	* **'Aláu-d-dín Muhammad bin Takash.** *Type :* on both sides, round areas surrounded by a marginal inscription between single-lined circles. Both margins defective : but on *obv.*, mint Nísábúr legible ; date lost. (*t*) Plate I, fig. 2.

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							SHAH OF KHWARIZM.—*Contd.*
							Obv. لا اله الا الله ○ الله محمد رسول الله الناصر لدين الله ○ *Rev.* الله السلطان الاعظم علاء الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر تكش بن خوارزمشاه
							Margins: fragmentary; *obv.* نيسا بور سنه
42	1	1	...	...	...	33,57	**Do.** Duplicate of No. 41, but double struck on both sides. Obverse margin fragmentary, showing only date 5**; reverse margin gone. (*i*)
							Obv. margin: بسم الله خمس مايه
43	1	1	...	...	...	44,37	**Do.** Duplicate of No. 41; but struck on rev. side only, margin entirely gone. (*i*)
44	2	2	...	...	...	26,95 16,08	‡ * **Do.** *Type:* same as No. 41; but different reverse legend; and no ringlets on obv. Margins nearly gone. (*t*)
							Rev. الله السلطان الاعظم على الدنيا و الدين ابوالفتح محمد بن السلطان تكش
45	1	1	...	...	...	36,34	**Do.** Duplicate of No. 44; but double struck on reverse side. Margins defective and illegible. (*i*)
46	1	1	...	...	...	23,00	‡ **Do.** Duplicate of No. 44; but struck on reverse side only. Margin nearly gone. (*i*)

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							SHA'H OF KHWARIZM—*Contd.*
47	1	1	...	...	...	32,62	**Do.** Duplicate of No. 44; but double struck on rev. side, and struck on that side only. Margin gone. (*t*)
48	4	4	...	...	...	44,37	‡ **Do.** Duplicate of No. 44; but struck on obv. side only, on which there are no ringlets. One perforated specimen weighs 25,06; two others weigh 20,91 and 18,49 grains respectively. Margins defective and illegible. (*i*)
49	1	1	...	...	...	47,81	**Do.** *Type:* similar to No. 41, with reverse legend similar to No. 44; and on obv. side letters in place of ringlets. Both legends much blundered. Margins gone. (*i*)

Obv.

لا اله الا

الله محمد ٥

رسو الله (sic)

الناضر لدله (sic)

∴

Rev.

قنك

السلطا لاعظم (sic)

علا الدنيا و الدين

ابو الفتح محمد

طسو S (broken).

ش (broken).

Mr. Rodgers reads قنك on *rev.*

50	1	1	...	...	...	64,07	* **Do.** Two round areas with marginal inscriptions within single-lined circles, as in No. 41; but legends different, also characters different, *i. e.*, nasta'liq, as in the early Paṭhán coins of India, not Kufic. One half of the coin is broken away. Reverse margin shows 6**. (*i*)

Obv.

.....لا

.....محمد

.....الناضر

...امير الم

Rev.

السلطان

...ظم علا الد

.....الفتح

.....

Rev. margin: ستمايه

Obv. margin: الدين الحق.....

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							SHÁH OF KHWARIZM—*Contd.*
51	18	...	...	...	18	35,58	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* I, obv., saddled horse with mint, within single-lined circle; sometimes three dots under horse; rev. inscription within singled-lined circle. One specimen was assayed by Dr. Scully with the result: copper 80·9 per cent., lead 13·5, silver 5·6. (*t*) Plate I, fig. 3. The mint is read by Mr. Rodgers *Balúqán or Taluqán.* *Obv.* بلو قان Horse ∴ *Rev.* السلطان ا لاعظم علا ا لدنيا والدين محمد بن السلطان
52	16	...	...	...	16	35,58	* **Do.** *Type* I, similar to No. 51, same mint, but rev. legend differently arranged. *Rev.* السلطان الاعظم علا ا لدنيا والدين محمد بن السلطان
53	5	...	...	...	5	35,58	* **Do.** *Type* I, similar to No. 51; same mint, but rev. legend differently arranged. *Rev.* السلطان الا عظم علا الد نيا و الدين محمد بن السلطان
54	1	...	...	...	1	34,44	* **Do.** *Type* I. Apparently similar to No. 51, but double-struck on both sides. (*i*)
55	4	...	...	...	4	37,89	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* II. Obv., horseman with lance at charge; *Variety* 1, semicircle over head of rider; some dots here and there; name of mint above right of rider. Rev., inscription only. Both obv. and rev. en-

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							SHÄH OF ḴHWARIZM—*Contd.*
							closed within double circle, the inner lined, the outer dotted. Mint *Ṭáliqán* both on obv. and rev. (*i*) Plate I, fig. 4.
							Obv. طالقان *Rev.* طالقان (in minute letters). السلطان الاعظم علاء الدنيا و الدين محمد بن السلطان or السلطان الاعظم علاء الدنيا و الدين محمد بن السلطان
							Occasionally the rev. legend is aranged, as on No. 51.
56	4	...	...	...	4	39,74	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* II, *Variety* 2, in all respects like No. 55, except that there is a bird to right below horse, instead of the dots. (*t*)
57	1	...	...	...	1	41,00	* **Do.** *Type* II, *Variety* 3, similar to No. 55, but without semicircular corona, and a trefoil in the place of the bird. Inscriptions on obv. and rev. exactly as on No. 55. (*t*)
58	2	...	...	...	2	39,78	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* II, *Variety* 4, bow-like canopy over head of rider; crescent above over left side, and mint above over right side of rider. Rev., inscription. Both obv. and rev. enclosed within double circle, the inner lined, the outer dotted. Mint سغو (*Shafúrqán?*) or سلو? (*t*) *Rev.* السلطان الاعظم علاء الدنيا و الدين محمد بن السلطان
59	2	...	...	...	2	33,60 36,37	* **Do.** *Type* II, *Variety* 5, similar to No. 53, but bare head; crescent with dot to left and dot to right of it. Rev., inscription exactly as on No. 58. Both obv. and rev. enclosed within a single-lined circle. Mint سلو or سغو? (*i*)

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							SHÁH OF ḴHWARIZM—*Contd.*
60	1	...	...	...	1	40,09	* **Do.** *Type* II, *Variety* 6, similar to No. 59, but without crescent and dots, and with some indistinct object below horse. Rev. inscription as on No. 58. (*i*)
61	8	...	...	...	8	42,06	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* II, *Variety* 7, similar to No. 58, but only with bow-like canopy. Rev., inscription as on No. 58, but below it an illegible mint-name. Both obv. and rev. either within a single serrated circle, or within a double circle, the inner lined, the outer dotted. (*i*)
62	2	...	...	...	2	27,36	* **Do.** *Type* III. Obv., horseman with waving arms, without lance. *Variety* 1, bird sitting to left below horse. Rev., inscription, nearly obliterated. Obv. and rev. within double lined circle. (*b*)
63	2	...	...	...	2	34,42	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* III, *Variety* 2, like No. 62, but bird turned to right. Mint *Ṭáliqán*, visible on obv. over right side of horse. (*i*)
64	3	...	...	...	3	37,09	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* III, *Variety* 3, a beetle-like mark under horse; mint over right side of horse. Rev., inscription. Both obv. and rev. enclosed within double-lined circles. Mint *Ṭáliqán* both on obv. and rev. Legends, on both sides, read and are arranged exactly as on No. 55. (*i*)
65	16	...	...	...	16	35,97	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* III, *Variety* 4, a star, 5 or 6 rayed, under horse; mint over right of horse. Rev., inscription. Obv. enclosed within double circle, the inner lined, the outer dotted; rev. within single-lined circle. Mint *Ṭáliqán* both on obv. and rev. Legends as on Nos. 55 and 63. Plate I, fig. 5. (Some *t*)
66	2	...	...	...	2		* **Do.** *Type* III, *Variety* 5, in all respects like No. 65, except the rev. legend which reads as follows: (*t*) طالقان (in minute letters.) السلطان الاعظم محمد بن السلطان

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							SHÁH OF KHWARIZM—*Contd.*
67	2	...	...	...	2	34,55	* **Do.** *Type* III, *Variety* 6, like No. 64 in all respects, except the mark under the horse which looks like an anvil (?). (*i*, *b*)
68	1	...	...	...	1	41,28	* **Do.** *Type* III, *Variety* 7, like No. 65 except that the mark under the horse is a snake, and the rev. legend arranged as on No. 52. (*t*)
69	2	...	...	...	2	36,52	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* III, *Variety* 8, like No. 62, except that there is no mark under the horse. (*b*)
70	2	...	...	...	2		* **Do.** *Type* III, *Variety* 9, no mark under horse, which is gallopping. Both obv. and rev. enclosed within double circle, the inner lined, the outer dotted. Rev. legend as follows: (*i*) [السلطان] (cut away.) الأ عظم ابو الفتح محمد بن السلطان
71	1	...	...	...	1	41,91	* **Do.** *Type* IV. Obv., horseman with leafed branch in left hand. Mint doubtful over left side of horse, and bird under horse. Both obv. and rev. enclosed within double circle, the inner lined, the outer dotted. Plate I, fig. 6. (*t*) *Obv.* زمیندار (?) *Rev.* السلطان الأ عظم ابو الفتح محمد بن السلطان
72	5	...	...	...	5	47,25	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* V, horseman with shouldered sword. *Variety* 1, bare head; mint over right side of horse; below it a flower. Rev., inscription. Mint *Hirát*. Both obv. and rev. within three circles, a dotted one between two lined ones. Plate I, fig. 7. (*t*)

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							SHÁH OF KHWARIZM—*Contd.*
							Obv. هراة — *Rev.* السلطان or الاعظم محمد بن السلطان rarely
73	6	...	...	...	6	45,38	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* V, *Variety* 2, like No. 72, except that there is no flower below the horse. (*i*)
74	3	...	...	...	3	35,52	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* V, *Variety* 3, like No. 73, but the mark under horse indistinguishable; canopy over head of rider and mint Balkh بلخ (?) (*i*)
75	6	...	...	...	6	46,72	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* VI, Obv., horseman with shouldered flag; bare head; no mint. Rev., inscription in Kufic characters. Both obv. and rev. enclosed within three circles, a dotted one being between two lined ones. Plate I, fig. 8. One specimen was assayed by Dr. Scully with the result: copper 2·2 per cent., silver 7.4, lead 85·4. (*t*) *Rev.* محمد بن السلطان تكش
76	7	...	...	...	7	36,88	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* VII, bare elephant to left. *Variety* 1, Obv., a saw-like mark below, and a mint-name above elephant. Rev., inscription. Both obv. and rev. within double circle, the outer dotted, the inner lined. One specimen was assayed by Dr. Scully with the result: per cent. copper 39·2, silver 8·0, lead 52·7. (*i*) *Obv.* سعرو (?) *Rev.* as on No. 58.
77	16	...	...	...	16	41,23	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* VII, *Variety* 2, similar to No. 76, but no mark below elephant, and mint and inscription different. (*t*)

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							SHÁH OF KHWARIZM—*Contd.*
							Obv. حانروان (?) *Rev.* as on No. 66. (but without the mint).
78	1	...	...	...	1	34,50	* **Do.** *Type* VII, *Variety* 3, similar to No. 77, but different mint and inscription. (*i*)
							Obv. كرنروان (?) *Rev.* apparently as in No. 58.
79	3	...	...	...	3	34,50	* **Do.** *Type* VII, *Variety* 4, similar to No. 77, but different mint and inscription. (*i*)
							Obv. شفورقان *Rev.* as on No. 52. [*Shufúrqán.*]
80	3	...	...	...	3	34,50	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* VII, *Variety* 5, similar to Nos. 77, 79, but different mint and inscription (2 *i*, 1*f*). Plate I, fig. 9.
							Obv. سلورقان (?) *Rev.* السلطان الا عظم علا الدنيا و الدين محمد سلطان
81	3	...	...	...	3	32,13	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* VII, *Variety* 6, similar to No. 76; but the mark below is an arabesque; the mint above is the same without the final ٨; rev. inscription different. (*t*)
							Obv. سمر or سعر (*Samarqand?*) *Rev.* السلطا ن الا عظم علا الدنيا و الدين محمد بن سلطان
							N. B. What looks like a mint name, may be only an arabesque ornamental mark.

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							SHÁH OF KHWARIZM—*Contd.*
82	4	...	...	...	4	33,01	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* VII, *Variety* 7, similar to No. 81, but arabesque mark above and three dots in line below elephant. Rev. inscription different; *viz.*, (*t*) السلطا ن الا عظم علا الدنيا و الدين
83	19	...	...	...	19	33,58	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* VII, *Variety* 8, exactly as No. 82, but a different rev. inscription. (3 *f*) *Rev.* السلطان ا لا عظم علا الدنيا والدين (on one) السطان or الا عظم علا الدنيا والدين محمد بن سلطان محمد بن سلطان
84	14	...	...	...	14	35,32	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* VIII, bare elephant to right. *Variety* 1, obv., mint above elephant; rev., inscription. Both obv. and rev. within double circle, outer dotted, inner lined. (*i* or *b*) *Obv.* (both in Kufic) كربروان (similar to No. 78) *Rev.* السلطان الا عظم علا الدنيا والد ين محمد بن سلطان
85	3	...	...	...	3	35,32	* **Do.** *Type* VIII, *Variety* 2, exactly as No. 84, but style of letters of obv. mint somewhat different. (1 *t*). Plate I, fig. 10.
86	4	...	...	...	4	35,32	* **Do.** *Type* VIII, *Variety* 3, exactly as No. 84, but style of letters of obv. mint slightly indifferent. (*i*)

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							SHA'H OF KHWARIZM—*Contd.*
87	3	...	...	...	3	38,91	* **Do.** *Type* IX, bare elephant to right, with fettered legs. *Variety* 1, obv., mint over elephant; rev., inscription. Both obv. and rev. within double circle, the outer dotted, the inner lined. (1 *f*). Plate I, fig. 11. *Obv.* كرنروان (as on No. 85) *Rev.* السلطان الأعظم عالم الدنيا والدين محمد بن سلطان
88	12	...	...	...	12	38,91	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* IX, *Variety* 2, exactly as No. 87, but style of letters of obv. mint slightly different. (*i, some t*) *Obv.* كرنروان (as on No. 85.) *Rev.* (as on No. 87).
89	12	...	...	...	12	38,91	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* IX, *Variety* 3, similar to No. 88, but inscription different. (*i*, one *t*) *Obv.* كرنروان (as on Nos. 89, 84.) *Rev.* (as on No. 84.)
90	2	...	...	...	2	38,91	* **Do.** *Type* IX, *Variety* 4, exactly as No. 89, but style of letters of obv. mint slightly different. (*i*) *Obv.* كرنروان (as on Nos. 85, 87). *Rev.* (as on Nos. 84, 89).

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							SHAH OF KHWARIZM—*Contd.*
91	1	...	...	...	1	42,81	* **Do.** *Type* X, elephant-rider with lance at charge, to left. *Variety* 1, obv., mint below elephant; rider bare-headed. Rev., inscription. Both obv. and rev. within double circle, outer dotted, inner lined. (*t*) Plate I, fig. 12. *Obv.* حردروان ؟ *Rev.* السلطا ن الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين محمد بن سلطا ن
92	1	...	...	...	1	38,43	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type* X, *Variety* 2, similar to No. 91, but on obv. no mint; bow-like canopy over rider's head; dot over elephant's head; rev. legend different. (*i*) Plate I, fig. 13.
93	20	...	...	20	...	47,58 45,11	Rev. legend, as on No. 83. † ‡ **Do.** *Type* XI, lettered surfaces, within circles. *Variety* 1, as in B. M. C., vol. II, Nos. 596—600 (see Plate VII, fig. 599). (*t, some f*)
94	1	...	...	1	...	34,92	**Do.** *Type* XI, *Variety* 2, as in B. M. C.. vol. II, No. 594. (*t*)
95	3	...	...	3	...	43,25	* ‡ **Do.** *Type* XI, *Variety* 3. Obv. and rev. within double circle, outer dotted, inner lined. On obv., two annulets on each side of the inscription; also on rev. in diverse places. (*i*) *Obv.* السلطان ؛ الاعظم ؛ ابوالفتح *Rev.* محمد بن السلطان تكش

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							SHÁH OF KHWARIZM.—*Contd.*
96	1	...	...	1	...	42,42	**Do.** *Type* XI, *Variety* 4. Obv., kalimah; rev. illegible. (*i*)
97	2	...	...	2	...	41,11 37,00	* ‡ **Do.** *Type* XII, small inner circular area on obv.; lettered surface on rev.; both rev. and obv. within double circle, outer dotted, inner lined. *Variety*, 1, Muḥammad in Kufic in area, with dot above. Plate I, fig. 14. (*t*) *Obv.* / *Rev.* *Area:* محمد / السلطان الا *Margin:* لا اله الا الله *above* / عظم علا الد الناصرا *left* / نيا والدين محمد (*sic*) رسو الله *below* / بن السلطان لدين الله *right.*
98	1	...	...	1	...	52,53	* **Do.** *Type* XII, *Variety* 2, inner area formed by a double circle; within, an illegible mint name. (*i*) *Obv.* / *Rev.* *Area:* ـــ... / ابو *Margin:* / الفتح محمد السلطان الاعظم / بن السلطان علا الدنيا والدين / تكش
99	3	...	...	3	...	44,88	* **Do.** *Type* XII, *Variety* 3, inner area formed of three circles, a dotted between two lined; within, a sexagonal rose or star. Published by W. Rodgers in J. A. S. B. vol. LII (1883), p. 57, No. 15 on Plate IV. (*i*)
100	1	...	...	1	...	47,60	* **Do.** *Type* XII, *Variety* 4, like No. 99 in every respect, except that rev. legend differently arranged. (*i*)

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							SHA'H OF KHWARIZM.—*Contd.*
							Rev. ابوالفتح بن السلطان [تكش] (*lost*)
101	3	...	...	8	...	45,37	* ‡ **Do.** *Type* XIII, a small inner circular area on both obv. and rev.; the latter are both surrounded by a double circle, outer dotted, inner lined. *Variety* 1, both inner areas formed by three circles, a dotted between two lined; within, mint *Zamíndávar*. (*i*) Plate I, fig. 15 *a* and *b*. *Obv.* *Margin*: السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين *Area*: داور *Rev.* *Margin*: ابوالفتح بن السلطان تكش *Area*: ز مين
102	1	...	...	1	...	38,60	* **Do.** *Type* XIII, *Variety* 2, like No. 100 in every respect, except that the circles forming the inner area are wider apart from one another, thus causing the margin to be narrower. Legends as in No. 101. (*i*)
103	2	...	...	2	...	41,99	* **Do.** *Type* XIII, *Variety* 3, obv. area formed by two lined circles; rev. area by three circles, a dotted between two lined; within both areas a boss. (*i*) *Obv.* *Marg.*: السلطان الاعظم علاالدنيا والدين *Area*: boss *Rev.* *Marg.*: ابوالفتح محمدبن السلطان تكش *Area*: boss
104	1	...	...	1	...	52,08	* **Do.** *Type* XIV, two-lined square areas occupying whole of obv. and rev. faces; segments inscribed. Almost illegible. (*i*)

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							SHÁH OF KHWARIZM.—*Contd.*
							Obv. *Rev.*
							Area : [لا اله] محمد الا رسول الله — *Area :* [السلطان الا] عظم علا الدنيا والدين
105	2	...	...	2	...	44,23 39,98	* ‡ **Do.** *Type* XV, on the obv. and rev., square areas enclosed within double circle, the outer dotted, the inner lined. *Variety* 1, ornamental scrolls in the sections, between the squares and circles. Published by W. Rodgers in J. A. S. B., vol. LII, p, 57, on Plate IV, fig. 14. The last line of the obv. legend, wanting in his specimen, was doubtfully supplied as being *'Alâu-d-dín*, but it is really *Abu-l-Fatḥ*, as shown clearly on the present specimens. (*t*)
							Obv. السلطان / الا عظم / ابوالفتح — *Rev.* محمد بن / السلطان / تكش
106	1	...	...	1	...	43,36	* ‡ **Do.** *Type* XV, *Variety*, 2, inscriptions in sections ; on rev., date 61* in words ; on obv., illegible mint (?). Plate I, fig. 16. (*t*)
							Obv. السلطان ... الا عظم ... ابوالفتح — *Rev.* سنه محمد بن السلطان تكش ستين

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							SHÁH OF KHWARIZM.—*Contd.*
107	2	...	...	2	...	44,24	* **Do.** *Type* XVI, on both obv. and rev., two hexagonal areas intercrossing, with three dots in each section. Mint Farwán. Published by W. Rodgers in J. A. S. B., vol. LII, p. 57, on Plate IV, fig. 12.
108	1	...	...	1	...	40,65	**Do.** *Type* XVII, obv., lettered surface within double circle, outer dotted, inner lined. Rev., small double-lined square inner area; within, figure of horseman, outside inscription. As in B. M. C. of Or. Coins, vol. II, p. 186, onPlate VII, fig. 603. (*i*)
109	1	...	...	1	...	57,17	* ‡ **Do.** *Type* XVIII, large thin piece obv., circular area; rev., double-lined square area. In marginal sections, apparently, mint Ghaznah. Plate II, fig. 17. (*t*) *Obv.* *Area:* السلطان الا عظم علا الدنيا والدين ابو لفتح *Margin:* Ornaments. *Rev.* *Area:* السلطان بن سلطان امير المومينين *Sections:* ornmt., *r. and l.* ضرب *above.* عزنة *below.*
110	1	...	...	...	1	43,50	* **Do.** Doubtful. *Type* XIX; obv., horseman to right, with lance at charge, within double circle, outer dotted, inner lined. Rev., inscription within single dotted circle; nearly illegible. Mr. Rodgers observes: "This is the only coin out of about 3,000, which has the horseman to the right."

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							SHÁH OF KHWARIZM.—*Contd.*
111	1	...	...	1	...	34,85	* **Do.** doubtful. *Type* XX; obv., maned lion standing to left, below a dot, above mint *Shafúrqán.* Rev., inscription within lined circle, nearly obliterated. *Obv.* شفورقان *Rev.* سلطان
							GHAZNAWÍS AND GHORÍS, ETC.
112	1	...	1	...	...	58,63	**Masa'úd I.** Two circular areas and margins, as in B. M. C. of Or. Coins, vol. II, No. 524 (p. 157), but barely legible. (*i*)
113	1	1	...	...	...	82,70	* **Farukhzád ibn Masa'úd.** Similar to No. 546 in B. M. C. of Or. Coins, vol. II, p. 166; but star (six-rayed) at top of rev. area, and *ẓafar* (ظفر, so W. Rodgers) at top of obv. area; date 448; the remainder identical. The outer marginal legend of obv. is nearly gone; that on reverse much cut and obliterated. (*f*)
114	1	...	...	...	1	45,56	**Ibrahím ibn Masa'úd**; with Bull rev., and lettered surface on obv., as in B. M. C. of Or. Coins, vol. II, No. 561 (p. 172), and in Proceedings, A. S. B., for 1881, p. 6. (*t*)
115	1	...	...	1	...	45,69	**Undetermined.** Probably Ghaznawí. Legends illegible; but on right hand side of the legend in the area, there is a perpendicular mark, which is indistinguishable on the obv., but clearly ⅃ on the rev. Compare similar marks on Maḥmúd's coin, Pl. V, No 458 in B. M. C., vol. II, p. 131. (*i*)
116	1	1	...	...	...	41,55	* **Ghiyásu-d-dín Muhammad bin Sám.** Two circular areas; both margins entirely obliterated.

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							GHAZNAWIS AND GHORIS.—*Contd.* *Obv.* السلطان الاعظم / غياث الدنيا و الدين / ابو المظفر محمد / بن سام حسلو (?) / (illegible) *Rev.* لا اله الا / الله محمد / رسول الله / الناصر الدين / Mr. Rodgers reads on the obv. doubtfully حسلو or قشلو. Plate II, fig. 18.
117	1	1	...	...	...	267,35	**Do.** Same type, but much heavier, than No. 6 in J. A. S. B., vol. LII, p. 56 (Pl. IV, fig. 6). Without mint; but date 600 A. H. The rev. margin, as Mr. Rodgers observes, gives a quotation from the Qurán, Surah IX, 33, هوالذي ارسل رسوله بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله [ولو كره المشركون] the concluding portion of which, *viz.* that within brackets, is never given on these gold coins. (*g*)
118	1	1	...	...	...	232,80	* **Do.** Very similar to No. 117, but with mint Ghaznah, and same date 600 A. H. (*g*)
119	1	1	...	...	...	134,73	* **Do.** The same as No. 117, except in the matter of weight; also without mint. Its date is 600 A. H. (*f*)
120	1	1	...	...	...	181,51	**Do.** Same type, as No. 117, but of smaller size; date 603 A. H., mint obliterated (Ghaznah ?). (*t*)
121	1	1	...	...	...	122,76	**Do.** Same as No. 120, except in the matter of weight. Mint Ghaznah; date obliterated (600 ?).
122	2	...	...	...	2	43,86 42,78	**Do.** *Type:* Turkí horseman, exactly as published, by Mr. Rodgers, in J. A. S. B., vol. LII, p. 55 (Pl. IV, fig. 1.) (1 *t*)

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							GHAZNAWÍS AND GHORÍS—*Contd.*
123	2	...	...	...	2	56,68 45,45	**Do.** Doubtful. Inscribed circular areas. *Obv.* سلطان لاعظم ع[ياث] *Rev.* ضرب...
124	1	1	...	...	...	116,13	* **Ghiyásu-d-dín** and **Muizzu-d-dín bin Sám.** Type the same as in No. 117. A silver coin of this type has been published by Dr. Stülpnagel in J. A. S. B., vol. XLIX, p. 31 (Pl. IV, No. III). It shows no mint, but bears the date 599 A. H. (*f*)
125	1	1	...	...	...	45,72	* **Do.** *Type*, four concentric circles, exactly as in the silver dirhem, published by Dr. Stülpnagel, in J. A. S. B., vol. XLIX, p. 30 (Pl. IV, No. II). No mint; but date 599 on the rev. with Muizz' name. (*t*)
126	2	...	...	...	2	45,95 42,52	**Muizzu-d-dín** and **Táju-d-dín Ildaz.** Published by Mr. Rodgers, in J. A. S. B, vol. XLIX, p. 210 (Pl. XVIII, No. 17). See also Ar. Ant. Pl. XX, fig. 18. (*t*)
127	1	...	...	...	1	50,96	‡ **Muizzu-d-dín bin Sám.** *Type*, Turkí horseman; exactly as in Chron., p. 15, No. 6 (Pl. I, fig. 5). (*t*)
128	1	...	...	...	1	48,19	**Do.** *Type*, Rájpút horseman; exactly as in Chron., p. 15, No. 5, (Pl. I, fig. 4). (*t*)
129	7	...	...	...	7	55,06	‡ **Do.** *Type*, bull and horseman, exactly as in Chron., p. 15, No. 10, (Pl. I, fig). (*t*)
130	1	...	...	1	...	37,44	* **Do.** *Type*, on both obv. and rev., an inscribed hexagon formed by two interlacing equilateral triangles. (*t*) *Obv.* السلطان (؟) *Rev.* محمد بن سام

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							GHAZNAWÍS AND GHORÍS—*Contd.*
131	1	...	...	1	...	43,51	**Do.** *Type*, circular areas, enclosed in dotted ring, exactly as published, by Mr. Rodgers, in J. A. S. B., vol. XLIX, p. 81, (Pl. V, fig. 6). (*i*) *Obv.* عدل *Rev.* معز
132	1	...	...	...	1	47,85	‡ **Ghiyásu-d-dín Mahmúd bin Muhammad bin Sám.** *Type*, Rájpút horseman, exactly as in Chron. p. 32, No. 25, and Journal R. A. S., vol. IX, p. 177.
133	1	...	...	...	1	40,59	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type*, elephant rider to left. *Variety* 1, similar to No. 91, but without lance at charge; with goad (*ankus*) in right hand. Plate I, fig. 19. (*f*) *Rev.* السلطان الاعظم غيا ث الدنيا و الدين ابوالفتح محمو د بن محمد سام
134	1	...	...	1	...	38,85	* **Do.** *Variety* 2, the same as No. 133 in all respects, except slightly different arrangement of rev. inscription. (*i*) *Rev.* السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين [ابوالفتح محمو] [د بن محمد سام } lost.
135	1	...	...	1	...	42,06	* **Do.** *Variety* 3, similar to No. 133; but bow-like canopy over rider, and slightly different rev. inscription. (*i*) *Rev.* السلطا ن الاعظم غيا ث الدنيا و الدين محمود بن محمد سام } much worn.

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							GHAZNAWÍS AND GHORÍS—*Contd.*
136	1	...	...	1	...	37,10	* † ‡ **Do.** *Variety* 4, similar to No. 133, but with lance at charge, and somewhat different rev. inscription. (*f*) *Rev.* السلطان الاعظم ابو الفتح محمود بن محمد سام
137	1	...	...	1	...	51,18	**Táju-d-dín Ildaz.** *Type*, Turkí horseman, as published by Mr. Rodgers, in J. A. S. B., vol. LII. p. 55 (Pl. IV, fig. 2). (*t*)
138	5	...	...	5	...	51,05	‡ **Do.** *Type:* Rájpút horseman, as in Ar. Ant., Pl. XX, fig. 9. (*t*)
							NÍSABÚRÍ AMÍRS.
139	1	1	...	...	...	31,24	‡ **Tughán Sháh.** Circular areas with inscribed margins, as in B. M. C. of Or. Coins, vol. III, No. 313 (Pl. VI, fig. 313). Mint obliterated, date 57*. (*t*) *Obv. margin:* بسم الله.....و سبعين خمسمايه
140	1	1	...	...	...	26,15	‡ **Do.** Same type as No. 139, but otherwise as in B. M. C. of Or. Coins, vol. III, No. 314. Mint and date lost. (*i*)
							BENÍ ZENGÍ AṬABEGS OF MOSIL.
141	1	1	...	...	...	87,23	* **Badru-d-dín Lúlú.** Mint Mosil, date 650; in every respect like No. CLXXX in Num. Or., p. 170, (Pl. X). It differs from B. M. C., vol. III, No. 574 (Pl. X) only in the omission of the word و سلم in the second line of the rev. area inscription, and in the date. (*g*)
							GREAT SELJUQÍS.
142	1	...	...	1	...	48,36	**Muhammad.** Lettered surfaces, enclosed within double lined circles. The obv. is marked with *fath*, the rev. with

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							GREAT SELJUQÍS—*Contd.*
							'adl, as in B. M. C., vol. III, No. 67, p. 34, 35. (*i*)
							Obv. فتح / لا اله الا / الله محمد / [رسول لله] *Rev.* عدل / Rest illegible.
							RUMÍ SELJUQÍS.
143	1	...	1	...	...	42,58	**Ghiyásu-d-dín Kai-Khusrú** II. *Type:* obv., sun over lion to right; rev. inscription, exactly as in B. M. C. of Or. Coins, vol. III, No. 225. With a small hole near the margin for wearing. (*g*).
							MALIKS OF SIJISTÁN.
							N. B. On these Maliks, see Major Raverty's translation of the Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí, pp. 183-202.
144	4	...	...	4	...	27,20	‡ **Ahmad bin Muhammad.** As described and figured in B. M. C. of Or. Coins, vol. III, No. 34, (1 *f*, *another broken in fragments*).
145	1	...	...	1	...	29,01	* ‡ **Khalaf ibn Ahmad.** *Type:* circular areas with inscribed margins, on both obv. and rev. The coin is in indifferent condition, and the legends difficult to read. Mr. Rodgers remarks as follows: "*Obv.*: خلف under احمد بن in tughrá. *Rev.*: etc. مما امربه الامير ابو جعفر Margins not quite legible, but the mint Sijistán is quite plain."
146	18	...	...	18	...	51,81 43,66	† ‡ **Táju-d-dín Harab**, sixth in descent from Khalaf. *Type:* obv., quatrefoil within double-lined circle; one pellet in each segment; rev., lettered surface within three circles, the inner and

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							MALIKS OF SIJISTÁN—*Contd.*
							outermost lined, the central dotted. Plate II, fig. 20. (*f*)
							Obv. تاج / حرب بن محمد / الدين — *Rev.* لله / محمد / رسول الله / الناصرالدين / محمد
							The obv. reads: *Táju-d-dín Ḥarb bin Muḥammad.*
147	1	...	...	1	...	59,40	‡ * **Ruknu-d-dín Bahrám Sháh,** grandson of Táju-d-dín. *Type*, obv. and rev., lettered surfaces within double circles, inner dotted, outer lined. Plate II, fig. 21. (*t*)
							Obv. ركن الدين / ابو منصور بن / بهرامشاه — *Rev.* الله / محمد / رسول الله / الناصرالدين
148	16	...	...	16	...	52,46 59,90	† ‡ **Táju-d-dín Nasar bin Bahrám Sháh.** *Type*, same as No. 146.
							Obv. تاج / نصر بن / بهرامشاه / الدين — *Rev.* The same as on No. 146, but omitting final محمد.
							Apparently identical with Naṣratu-d-dín, another grandson of Táju-d-dín.

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							MALIKS OF SIJISTAN—*Contd.*
149	3	...	...	3	...	51,66 51,22 44,72	* † ‡ **Asadu-d-dín bin Harab.** *Type*, same as No. 146. (*t*) *Obv.* عضد ابوالمظفر ابن حرب الدين *Rev.* لله محمد رسول الله الناصرالدين *Not mentioned in Major Raverty's list.*
150	6	...	...	6	...	39,14	* † ‡ **Undetermined.** Obv., circular area with marginal inscription; rev. lettered surface within lined circle. (one *t*) Plate II, fig. 22. *Obv.* *Area:* ∴ حرب *Margin:* illegible. *Rev.* (illegible.) لا لله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصرالدين الله محمد
151	1	...	...	1	...	40,82	* **Undetermined.** Obv. worn blank; rev. shows only الناصر, and traces of محمد over it. (*b*)
							MONGOL IL-KHANS OF PERSIA.
152	1	1	...	...	...	50,21	* **Undetermined.** Circular areas with inscribed margins, on both obv. and rev. The margins are nearly gone, and the areas are much worn. Date *77. The legends as read by Mr. Rodgers, are as follows: *Obv.* خان الخاقان العادل الا عظم..... ارسلان *Rev.* لله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله امام المسلمين *Rev. margin:* سبع و سبعين.....

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							MONGOL IL-KHÁNS OF PERSIA.
153	1	...	...	1	...	63,52	‡ **Jingis Khán.** *Type:* lettered surfaces within double circle, the outer dotted, the inner lined, on both obv. and rev. (*t*) *Obv.* عدل / خاقان / الاعظم — *Rev.* الناصرا / لدين الله / اميرالمو / منين
154	1	...	1	...	...	46,15	* **Hulágú Il-Khán.** *Type*, as described and figured in B. M. C., vol. VI, Nos. 21, 25, and Num. Or., No. CCLXXI. But at the bottom of the obv. area is the mint *Isfaráin* اسفراين. Both margins are entirely cut away.
155	1	...	1	...	...	42,60	* **Abága Il-Khán,** Obv. has inscription in Mongol characters, giving the name *Abágáin;* rev. has the devise of the Seljúqí coins (lion with kalimah), as on No. 143. (*i*)
156	1	...	1	...	...	41,41	* **Do.** Size and type like B. M. C. of Or. Coins, vol. VI, No. 48; but the legend on the obv. square area is as on *ibid.* No. 51. *Obv.* — *Square area:* لا اله الا / وحده لا شريك له / محمد رسول الله — *Rev.* Mongol legend. *Marginal sections:* ...سنه احدى...
157	1	...	...	...	1	62,74	* † ‡ **Do.** Small size; lettered surfaces. Plate II, fig. 23. The legends as read by Mr. Rodgers are: *Obv.* [ا]بو قا / [با]د شاه / عدل... — *Rev.* الله / محمد / رسول

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							MONGOL IL-KHÁNS OF PERSIA.
							There are four minute crude letters in the space between الله and محمد which may possibly be *Abagha* in Mongol characters.
158	2	...	...	...	2	63,55 66,84	* † ‡ **Do.** Small size; obv. legend surrounded by arabesques within circle; rev. legend within circle. Plate II, fig. 24.
							Obv. قاان العادل بادشاه — *Rev.* [قاان] العادل هراة
159	1	...	...	...	1	63,29	* ‡ **Do.** Small size. Similar to No. 157, but obv. legend different. Plate II, fig. 25.
							Obv. قاان العادل — *Rev.* as on No. 157.
160	5	...	5	...	...	42,52 41,19 41,49 42,43 42,87	* † ‡ **Do.** *Type*, as in B. M. C., vol. VI, Pl. II, No. 41, but instead of stars there is an arabesque between the first and second lines of the legend in the square area. The segments contain arabesques, except one, which has the mint Marv (مرو).
161	1	...	1	...	...	41,97	* **Do.** In all respects like No. 160, except that the mint is *Isfaráin* (اسفراين). (*f*)
162	1	...	1	...	...	42,61	* **Do.** Similar type to No. 160, but obv. inscriptions different; those in the marginal segments being in Mongol characters. Only the legend *Khaghanu* (the Great Khan's) in the top-segment is legi-

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							MONGOL IL-KHANS OF PERSIA–*Contd.*
							ble; the name which would probably have been in the bottom segment is entirely rubbed off. This is most unfortunate, as it has been impossible hitherto to determine the coins of this type with certainty. (*i*)
							Obv. *Rev.* *Area:* لا اله الا الله فان وحده لا [شريك له] العادل محمد[رسول الله] in ornamented hexagram. *Segment on top: Khaghanu.*
163	1	...	1	...	...	49,37	† * ‡ **Do.** *Type:* obv., circular area with inscribed margin; rev., scolloped circular area with inscribed margin. Both area legends as in No. 162; rev. marginal legend was in Mongol character, of which only traces of last word (*luk sen*) visible. Obv. margin entirely rubbed away. (*i*) *Obv. area:* *Rev. area:* As in No. 162. القان *Margin:* illegible. العادل *Margin:*..... *luk sen.*
164	1	...	1	...	...	42,56	* **Do.** *Type:* circular areas with inscribed margins on both sides. Obv. margin entirely rubbed away; on the rev. margin there was the date. (*i*) *Obv. area:* *Rev. area:* As in No. 162. القان [الا] *Margin:* illegible. عظم العادل *Margin:*.....فى سنه ثما...
165	1	...	1	...	...	39,14	* **Do.** *Type:* circular area with inscribed margins. Obv., creed in area, with date on margin; rev., a bow with 2 dots within it, under the titles. Plate II, fig. 26.

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							MONGOL IL-KHANS OF PERSIA—*Contd.*
							Obv. area : الله / لا اله الا / الله محمد / رسول الله — *Rev. area :* قاان / العادل /
							Margin.....ضرب هذا الد
166	1	...	1	...	...	39,89	* **Do.** *Type :* similar to No. 165; but date on rev. margin, and no dots in the bow.
							Obv. area : الله / لا اله الا / محمد / رسول — *Rev. area :* قاان / العادل /
							Margin : ضرب.....ستماية
							Margin : illegible.
167	1	...	1	...	...	43,60	* **Do.** *Type :* obv., square area within circle; rev., similar area with a bow below titles. Mint *Marv*, date 6**. Plate II, fig. 27.
							Obv. area : لا اله الا / الله محمد / رسول الله — *Rev. area :* الملك الله / قاان العادل / سكه مرو /
							Segment at bottom : و ستماية
							others illegible.
168	1	...	1	...	...	39,88	**Arghun.** As described and figured in B. M. C., vol. VI, No. 60. Mint *Baghdád*, date 68*. Mr. Rodgers read the mint *Qazan*, which he supposes to be in Persia. There is no star either on the obv. or rev. (*g*)
169	2	...	2	...	...	38,23 37,67	*† ‡ **Do.** Similar to No. 168; but segments on obv. read as follows :
							top : مرو

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							MONGOL IL-KHANS OF PERSIA—*Contd.*
							left ستمايه (?)
							bottom : مرو
							right : و ثمانين
							giving the mint *Marw* apparently twice, and the date 68* incomplete.
170	1	...	1	...	...	34,98	* **Do.** Similar to No. 168, but in obv. area, over الله, a quarter-foil instead of the star of B. M. C., vol., VI, No. 60. Segments illegible, except on the left side فى شهور. (*i*)
171	1	...	1	...	...	38,10	* **Do.** Similar to Nos. 168 and 170, but in obv. area, over الله, a pyramid instead of a star. Segments, above.....ضرب right hand و ثمانين ; other two illegible. Date * 8 * . (*t*)
172	1	...	1	...	...	38,39	* † ‡ **Do.** Similar to No. 168; but right hand segment contains a bow; the three others are illegible. (*i*)
173	2	...	2	...	...	38,83 36,84	* † ‡ **Do.** Similar to No. 169, but there is a bow within the rev. area, to the right of the Mongol legend. The segments read as in No. 169, but in different order : top : مرو left : وثمانين — Mint : *Marw*. bottom : مرو — Date : 68*. right : ستمايه... The right hand segment shows traces of some more letters; and it may possibly have contained the unit figure. Plate II, fig. 28.
174	2	...	2	...	...	40,70 38,55	* † ‡ **Do.** Same general type as in No. 168, but the Mongol legend on rev. is enclosed within a double circle, the outer dotted, the inner lined. The obv. area is

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							MONGOL IL-KHANS OF PERSIA–*Contd.* marked by a quarter-foil as in No. 166. The segments read as follows: top: قازان; left: عادل; bottom: بازار اردو; right: شاه زاده (?). *Rev.* بازار اردو in minute letters between 2nd and 3rd lines. Mr. Rodgers remarks on this coin: "This was struck apparently by Gházán or Qázán, the son of Arghun, at the Bazar of the Camp." Plate II, fig. 29.
175	2	...	2	...	...	39,43 39,37	* † **Do.** Same general type as in No. 168, but the square area in obv. is formed by dots, instead of lines. The obv. area is marked by an arabesque. The obv. segments read as follows. Mint *Nísábúr*, date *84. *Obv.* top: نیسابور; left: سنه اربع; bottom: ثمانین; right: illegible. *Rev.* نیسابور in minute letters between 2nd and 3rd lines.
176	1	...	1	...	...	37,83	* **Do.** Same general type as in No. 168, but the Mongol legend on rev. is enclosed in three circles, the exterior ones lined, the middle one dotted. The segments read as on No. 174, but in a different order. Mint *Bazár Urdú*. (*i*) top: بازار اردو; left [زان]قا; bottom, right } illegible. *Rev.* illegible, except 1st line.

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							MONGOL IL-KHANS OF PERSIA–*Contd.*
177	1	...	1	...	...	42,19	* **Do.** A similar type to No. 168, but on obv. double-lined square area within a lined circle, with arabesques in the segments; on the rev. the Mongol legend in a double-lined quarter-foil area enclosed within a double circle, the outer dotted, the inner lined. Mint *Jurján.* Plate II, fig. 30. (*f*) *Obv.* *Area :* لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ضرب جرجان *Rev.* *Area :* ∴ Mongol Legend ∵ *Segments :* Arabesques.
178	1	...	1	...	...	60,27	* **Do.** A new type. Obv., circular lined area, with inscribed margin within dotted circle; rev., circular dotted area, with inscribed margin within lined circle. Plate II, fig. 31. (*t*) *Obv.* *Area :* لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله السلطان ارغون * *Margin :* illegible. *Rev.* *Area :* قان الاعظم *Sulṭán Arghún* (in Mongol). الاعظم *Margin :* ...لعلک توتی الملك من تشا.....
179	1	...	1	...	...	59,33	* † **Do.** *Type :* similar to No. 163; but on rev. a plain circular area, with marginal legend in Mongol characters of which only *luksen* legible. Obv. margin worn off; and the illegible scrawls in the last line of obv. area may have given the mint, as in No. 177. (*i*)

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							MONGOL IL-KHANS OF PERSIA—*Contd.*
							Obv. *Rev.* *Area:* لااله الا الله محمد رسول الله illegible scrawls *Area:* قاان الا عظم ارغون بادشاه عادل خله *Margin:* illegible. *Margin:* *luksen.*
180	1	...	1	...	...	37,40	* **Do.** *Type*, obv., square area, the segments apparently only filled with dots; rev., small circular area formed by three circles, one dotted between two lined ones; with inscribed margin; mint *Astarábád*, date [68]5. Plate II, fig. 32. (*f*) *Obv.* *Rev.* *Area:* لا اله الله محمد رسول الله على ولى الله *Area:* قاان ارغون *Segments:* dots. *Margin:* ... استراباد شهور سنه خمش..... Mr. Rodgers read the date ثمان, and observes: "I believe this is the first coin on which appears the formula على ولى الله."
181	1	...	1	...	...	42,66	* **Do.** *Type:* same as in No. 156. Obv. legends same as in No. 152; segments, which probably contained the mint and date, illegible. Rev., Mongol legend with *Arghunu*. (*t*)
182	1	...	1	...	...	20,26	* **Do.** A beautiful coin with a complicated design. Obv., small double-lined square area, within an ornamental margin; the segments between square and marginal circle filled with arabesques. Rev., small double-scolloped circular area, within a margin filled with dots. Plate II, fig. 33. (*f*)

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							MONGOL IL-KHANS OF PERSIA–*Contd.*
							Obv. — *Area:* لا اله الا / الله محمد / رسول الله — *Margin:* §§§§§§
							Rev. — *Area:* *Khagánu* / *Arbad* / *Arghunu* — ∞ — *Margin:* ●●●●●●
183	1	...	1	...	...	42,67	* **Do.** *Type:* similar to No. 156, and to B. M. C., vol. VI, Pl. II, No. 48. The obv. legend as on the latter, and as on No. 182. Both sides are almost illegible; the left hand segment on the obv. is read by Mr. Rodgers حنونسان, mint ?" (*i*)
184	1	...	1	...	...	18,89	* **Do.** *Type:* same as in No. 168, with obv. marked by star, but the whole of margin, and partially sides of areas clipped away, to reduce size. Mint *Shírwán* (شيروان) or *Sabzwár* (سبزوار) in minute Persian letters between the 2nd and 3rd lines of rev. Mongol inscription. (*g*)
185	1	...	1	...	...	19,36	* **Do.** Type and legends, in all respects, as in No. 174, but exceedingly clipped to reduce size, as in No. 184. Of the obv. segments only remain, top قاان, and left عاد[ل]; of the mint on rev. only [باز] ر اردو (*g*)
186	3	...	3	...	...	42,24 41,20 42,55	* **Do.** *Type:* similar to No. 177, obv., square area, within double circle, the inner dotted, the outer lined; segment partly inscribed, partly filled with arabesques. Rev., scollopped area, within ornamental border. Mint *Isfaráin.* (*i*)

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							MONGOL IL-ḴHÁNS OF PERSIA—*Contd.*
							Obv. / *Rev.*
							Area: لا اله الا الله / Khaghanu
							 / Arbad
							محمد / Arghunu
							رسول الله / Deledkeksen
							Segments: top اسفراين / Manghu
							left / *bottom* } cut away
							right: arabesque.
							The fourth line of the Mongol legend seems to read as in B. M. C., vol. VI, Pl. II, No. 85. The word in the fifth line is new, either *manghu* or *maghnu*.
187	1	...	1	...	...	42,93	* **Do.** *Type:* similar to No. 168, but obv. legend as in No. 186, and the whole exceedingly clipped, to reduce size. Mint *Nísábúr*. Obv. segments as follows: Top نيسابور; left and bottom cut away; right: في
							BUḴHÁRÁ HOUSE OF TIMUR.
188	1	...	1	...	...	78,07	**Sháh Rukh.** As in B. M. C. of Or. Coins, vol. VII, Pl. II, No. 61. Date 828, but no mint. (*f*)
189	1	...	1	...	...	79,06	**Do.** Same type as No. 188, except that the corners of the obv. square form small ringlets. Mint *Sabzawár* (سبزوار) between 3rd and 4th lines of rev. legend. No date, unless worn away below last line. (*f*)
190	1	...	1	...	...	74,41	**Do.** Same type as No. 188, but a rosette inserted in rev. between رخ and بهادر. Mint *Salṭáníyah* (سلطانيه), date * 47. The obv. is nearly effaced by being double struck

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							BUKHARA HOUSE OF TIMUR—*Contd.* with بوذ به. In B. M. C., vol. VII, No. 59, the date occupies the place of the rosette. (*t*)
191	1	...	1	...	...	77,98	**Do.** Obv., square area divided into three compartments, with one line of creed in each; inscribed segments, entirely gone. Rev., circular area with illegible mint and date 848; inscribed margin, nearly gone. Rev. area is counterstruck with Abu Sa'íd's name.
							Obv. / *Rev.* / *Counter.* *Area:* لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله / *Area:* ضرب (?) ٨٤٨ / كوركان ابو سعيد سلطان *Segments*: illegible. *Margin*: illegible. Mr. Rodgers reads the date 848. This is doubtful, however; it may be 868.
192	1	...	1	...	...	70,70	**Do.** Doubtful. Counterstruck with 898 Khán (خان ٨٦٨); original legends illegible.
193	1	...	1	...	...	76,66	**Husain Baikara,** Governor of Khorásán (?). Compare B. M. C., vol. VII, No. 123, 126. Counterstruck in lozenge, on obv. به بوذ استراباذ (*Astarábád*); on rev. in smaller lozenge به بوذ هراة (*Hirát*). Ascription of original coin unknown.
							LINE OF SHAIBAN.
194	1		1	...	...	69,54	**Abdulláh** II. Too illegible to be determined with certainty. Obv. area has the creed; the rev. area seems to read as in B. M. C., vol. VII, No. 150.

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							LINE OF SHAIBÁN—*Contd.* الله ن عـــبد بهادر خا Mr. Rodgers ascribes it to Iskandar Sháh (as *ibid.* No. 145).
195	1	...	...	1	...	40,47	**Undetermined.** On obv., in scolloped area, ضرب بلخ mint *Balkh.* (*i*)
196	1	...	...	1	...	48,58	**Undetermined.** Two circular areas. (*i*) *Obv.* لا عظم ...والدين *Rev.* ضرب ...مرو (?)
							MANGIT DYNASTY.
197	1	1	...	...	...	70,50	‡ **Muzaffaru-d-dín.** A modern tilla; similar in type to B. M. C., vol. VII, Pl. V, No. 179. Mint *Bukhárá*, date 1297. Legends as *ibid.*, No. 179. (*g*)
198	1	...	1	...	...	48,25	**Do.** Haidarí type, as in B. M. C., vol. VII, Pl. V, No. 212. Mint *Bukhárá*, date 1278. (*t*)
199	1	...	1	...	...	48,20	**Do.** A variety of No. 198; but with date 1283 on reverse. Mint *Bukhárá.* (*t*) *Obv.* شريف ے ضرب بخارا *Rev.* عا محمود قـــبـــت حيدر مرحوم امير
200	1	...	...	1	...	83,66	**Undetermined.** Broad thin piece, about 1½ inches in diameter; bilingual, Persian and Chinese. Obv., small circular area with سکه بخارا (money of Bukhárá); broad

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							MANGÍT DYNASTY—*Contd.*
							ornamental margin, apparently with traces of Persian inscription. Rev., small octagonal area with Chinese legend; broad ornamental margin, apparently with Arabic inscription.
							ṢAFAWÍ DYNASTY OF PERSIA.
201	1	...	1	...	...	40,01	**Ismá'íl I.** As described and figured by Mr. Oliver in J. A. S. B., vol. LVI, Pl. I, No. IV. Mint *Nímroz*, date 929. About one-third is broken off.
202	1	...	1	...	...	79,48	‡ **Husain bin Sulaimán.** As in J. A. S. B., vol. LVII, Pl. II, No. XXIV. Mint *Iṣfahán*, date 1130. With a brass loop for suspension. (*g*)
203	1	...	1	...	...	76,96	**Do.** The same, but mint Tabríz, date 1131. (*g*) With a brass loop for suspension.
204	1	...	1	...	...	74,15	**Do.** A variety of No. 202; the obv. only, but not the rev., has a marginal circle of pellets. Mint *Iṣfahán*, date 1120. With a brass loop for suspension. (*g*)
205	1	...	1	...	...	82,16	‡ **Do.** Another variety of No. 202; as in J. A. S. B., vol. LVI, Pl. II, No. XXI. The obv. margin is inscribed, the rev. margin is studded with pellets; the areas are formed by dotted circles. Mint *Qazwín*, date 1131. With a brass loop for suspension; also pierced near margin. (*g*)
206	1	...	1	...	...	80,40	**Do.** Another variety of No. 202; as in J. A. S. B. vol. LVI, Pl. II, No. XXII. The obv. margin inscribed, the reverse ornamented with floral design. Mint *Tíflís*, date 1132. With brass loop for suspension. (*g*)
207	1	...	1	...	...	76,90	* **Mahmúd.** Type the same as No. 204; obv., circular area with margin studded with pellets; rev., lettered surface without margin. No mint or date. With a brass loop for suspension. Plate II, fig. 34.

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							ṢAFAWĪ DYNASTY OF PERSIA—*Contd.*
							Obv. لا اله الا الله — محمد — رسول الله علی ولی الله
							Rev. سکه صاحبقرانی — ...توفیق الله امیر میه... — کاه محمود سما.... (only partially legible.)
208	1	...	1	...	...	75,29	**Ashraf**. Type the same as No. 204; like No. 200, p. 67, in B. M. C., of Sháhs of Persia. Mint *Isfahán*, date 1137. With brass loop for suspension. (*g*)
209	1	...	1	...	...	85,05	‡ **Tahmásp** II. Type similar to No. 202, but the areas are formed by dotted circles, as in Num. Or., No. DLXXI, Mint *Isfahán*, date 1147. With a brass loop for suspension. (*g*)
210	1	...	1	...	...	76,37	**Do**. A variety of No. 209, obv. margin inscribed, as in J. A. S. B., vol. LVI. Pl. III, No. XXIX. See also No. 150, p. 56 of B. M. C., of Sháhs of Persia. Mint *Tabríz*, date 1134. With a brass loop and perforation for suspension. (*g*)
211	1	...	1	...	...	82,44	**Do**. The same as No. 210, but mint *Mashhad Muqaddas*, date 1137. The margins are entirely cut away, with the exception of one trace at the side with ولي on the obv. With a brass loop for suspension. (*i*)
212	2	...	2	...	...	78,48 77,94	**Nádir**. As described and figured by Mr. Oliver, in J. A. S. B., vol. LVI, Pl. III, No. XXXV, and B. M. C. of Sháhs of Persia, No. 1, p. 72. Mint *Mashhad*, date 1150. In one specimen the date is nearly rubbed out. With brass loop for suspension. (*f*)
213	1	...	1	...	...	61,24	**Do**. As figured in Num. Or., No. DLXXXV, and described on p. 472. The margins are nearly rubbed away, hence mint and date almost illegible, but probably *Mashhad* 1150. See also J. A. S. B., vol.

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							ṢAFAWĪ DYNASTY OF PERSIA–*Contd.*
							LVI, Pl. IV, No. XXXVII. With brass loop for suspension.
214	1	...	1	...	...	74,51	**Karím Khán** (?). Mr. Rodgers observes: "no name on the coin; obv., the distich as on Karím Khán's coins in B. M. C. of Sháhs of Persia, Introduction, p. lxxxvii. Rev. ضرب دارالمومنين كاشان. Mint Káshán; no date. With brass loop for suspension. (*t*)
215	1	...	1	...	...	40,51	**Undetermined**. Obv., quarter-foil area with Shí'ah creed, and inscribed margin, nearly illegible. Rev., two scolloped areas, one within the other, and dotted margin. Legend in inner area illegible; outer فی شهور.....(*t*)
216	1	...	1	...	...	22,34	**Undetermined**. Mint Iṣfahán. Mr. Rodgers reads as follows: "*Obv.* ضرب اصفهان سكو شاه (?) *Rev.* in lozenge مبارک. Margin lost."
217	1	...	...	...	...	13,56	**Medal or Token** of brass. Obv., the Persian rayed and faced sun in middle of wreath of oak-leaves and acorns. Rev., crescent and stars in middle of ditto.
							AFGHANISTÁN.
218	1	...	1	...	...	163,61	**Mahmúd Durráni**. A rupee as figured in Num. Chron., IIId Series for 1888, Pl. XIII, fig. 12, p. 352. Mint Hirát, date 1230. Legends on both sides almost entirely worn off. *Obv.* سلطان محمود *Rev.* ۱۲۳۰ هراة ...سلطنه ضرب

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							AFGHANISTAN—*Contd.*
219	1	...	1	...	...	41,44	**Do.** A quater Rupee. Mint gone; date 1241. Most of the legend gone. *Obv.* سلطان محمود *Rev.* ١٢٤١ ...السلطنه ضرب
220	1	...	1	...	...	141,65	**'Abdu-r-Rahmán.** A rupee. Mint Kábul, date 1298. Very imperfectly struck, showing portion only of legends; edges much hacked about. *Obv.* امیر حمن عبد الر ١٢٩٨ *Rev.* ضرب دار السلطنه [كابل]
221	1	...	1	...	...	143,10	**Do.** A rupee. Another Variety. Mint and date cut away. In the same condition as No. 220. *Obv.* امیر الرحمن [عبد] *Rev.* ضرب دار.....
222	5	...	5	...	...	142,17 141,52 141,21 138,41 137,75	**Undetermined.** All Rupees. Mint Kábul; dates, only visible on three, ** 97, *** 4, **** 4. In the same general condition, as Nos. 220 and 221. *Obv.* ن حب یا الزما صا *Rev.* ضرب دار کابل السلطنه [12]97 *i. e.* یاصاحب الزمان

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							AFGHANISTAN—*Contd.*
223	1	...	1	...	...	143,18	**Undetermined.** A rupee, with an incomplete and unread Persian distich on the obv.; and with mint Dáru-s-Salṭanat Kábul and date 1250 on rev.
224	1	...	...	1	...	46,72	**Undetermined.** Obv., square area with arabesque in segments; rev., round area with ornamental margin. No mint, date ** 75. *Obv.* *Area :* سنه خمس سبعين *Rev.* ضرب هراة
225	1	...	...	1	...	43,60	**Undetermined.** *Obv*, lozenge area within ornamental margin; rev., floral geometric figure. *Obv.* ضرب هراة بلدة
226	1	...	...	1	...	38,57	**Undetermined.** A variety of No. 224. Mint Hirát on obv., and date 887 or 878 on rev. *Rev.* هر اة *Obv.* ٨ ٨ سنه ٧
227	1	...	...	1	...	47,16	**Undetermined.** A variety of No. 224, but obv. scollopped area, rev. square area. Mint Hirát, no date. *Obv.* ريخ التا فى *i. e.*, فى التاريخ *Rev.* ضرب هراة
228	1	...	...	1	...	36,68	**Undetermined.** Mint Hirát; date **55. Obv., lotus shaped design; the centre has

Serial Number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							AFGHÁNISTÁN—*Contd.*
							هراة; on two of the pedals عدل; the rest illegible. Rev., in round area: فی خمس سنه و خمسین
229	1	...	...	1	...	77,26	**Undetermined.** Another variety of No. 225, but of much larger size. Mint Hirát, date 919. *Obv.* ٩١٩ سنه ب هراة [ضر]
230	1	...	...	1	...	46,82	**Undetermined.** Another variety of No. 225; mint Hirát (?), date gone. *Obv.* ضرب دارالسلطنه هراة (?)
231	1	...	...	1	...	34,24	**Undetermined.** Another variety of No. 225. Obv....ضرب; Rev. illegible.
							RÁJPUTS OF INDIA.
232	1	...	...	...	1	52,02	**Prithví Rája.** As in Ar. Ant., Pl. XIX, fig. 18; Ind. Ant., vol. I, pl. XXV, fig. 21, pl. XXVI, fig. 30; also Chron., p. 64, No. 38. (*t*)
233	4	...	...	...	4	53,23 51,97	**Cháhada Deva.** With legend *Samantadeva;* as in Ar. Ant., Pl. XIX, fig. 16; also Chron., No. 39, p. 70. (*t*)
234	2	...	...	...	2	51,45 50,74	**Do.** With legend *Samasarola;* as in Chron., No. 40, p. 70, pl. I, fig. 15, also Ar. Ant., Pl. XIX, fig. 31, 34, 37; Ind. Ant., Pl. XXVI, fig. 31. (*t*)

Serial number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							RAJPUTS OF INDIA.—(*contd*)
235	3	...	...	...	3	50,16 49,07 47,10	**Madana Pála.** As in Ar. Ant., Pl. XIX, fig. 19, 23, Ind. Ant., Pl. XXV, fig. 16, Pl. XXVI, fig. 27, J. R. A. S., vol. IX, fig. 13; also Chron., p. 62, No. 34. (*t*)
236	1	...	...	...	1	50,03	**Sallakshana Deva.** As in J. R. A. S., vol. IX, fig. 11, 12; also Chron., p. 62, No. 33. (*t*)
							MUGHALS OF INDIA.
237	1	...	1	...	...	175,25	**Farrokh Siyar.** A rupee. As in Num. Or., No. DCCCCXII, but mint Dáru-l-Salṭanat Láhor, date 1126, regnal 2. (*f*)
							SOUTH INDIAN.
238	1	...	...	1	...	47,62	**Qutbu-d-dín Fírúz.** Doubtful, but see Madras Journal of Literature and Science, for 1888-89, fig. 4, p. 56. Lettered surfaces enclosed within double circle, the inner lined, the outer dotted. (*i*) *Obv.* قطب الدنيا و الدين ؟ *Rev.* شاه (?) فيروز
							UNDETERMINED.
239	1	...	...	1	...	104,80	**Unknown.** Circular areas with inscribed margins. Each area contains the exceedingly crude figure of an animal, which cannot be identified. The marginal legends are almost entirely worn off and quite illegible. (*i*)
240	36	...	...	36	...	39,09 23,29 13,66 12,09 11,59 7,70 7,52	**Unknown.** Mere copper-drops of varying sizes and weights. Mr. Rodgers observes: "No king's name on them. Some are very small, weighing only 4 grains of copper. They were all made of *drops* of copper which were stamped on both sides by dies bearing Kufic inscriptions. The edges are still con-

Serial number.	Number of Coins.	Metal. Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Mixed.	Weight in grains.	Description.
							UNDETERMINED.—*Contd.* vex. Some weigh over 50 grains. They all agree in not being prepared for the die by cutting or hammering. No definite description has yet been deciphered. Some of them have عدل (*'adl*) on one side; some have a geometric device. There is not sufficient inscription on any coin to enable me to assign them to any king." The weights on the margin are those of seven of the best selected specimens.

N. B. Of the following Numbers there are a number of spare specimens, all being much inferior to those selected for the Indian Museum and noticed in the Catalogue.

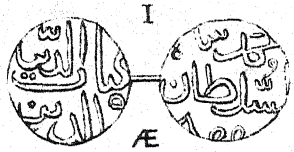
Nos. 51—54, 224 specimens.
Nos. 60—70, 48 do.
No. 75, 11 do.
Nos. 76—83, 107 do.
Nos. 84—86, 47 do.
No. 146 , 148 do.
No. 240 , 210 do.

Postscript.

The foregoing pages had already passed through the press, when I received from Professor W. Tiesenhausen of Petersburg a copy of his paper on the Oriental Coins of Mr. Linévitch, published in the Transactions of the Oriental Section of the Russian Archæological Society, Vol. IV, pp. 289—320. Among the coins described in this paper, I find several which appear to be identical with some in the Museum Collection. Thus Prof. Tiesenhausen's No. 6 shown in his Pl. I, figs. 2, 3 is the same as Ind. Mus. Cat. No. 77. The mint is read by the Professor as جرزوان. His No. 7 seems to be the same as Ind. Mus. Cat. No. 51, but in the woodcut, accompanying No. 7, the horse is shown without a saddle. His No. 8 (with a woodcut) is the same or nearly the same as Ind. Mus. Cat. No. 101. Others are: No. 1 = Ind. Mus. Cat. No. 149; No. 3 = Ind. Mus. Cat. No. 95 or No. 105. Prof. Tiesenhausen's No. 29, which is dated 798 A. H. in Tímúr's reign, very much resembles Ind. Mus. Cat. No. 230; and the latter, therefore, is probably to be attributed to Tímúr. So are, in all probability, Ind. Mus. Cat. Nos. 224, 225, 226, which in design have much resemblance with No. 230. In fact, the date of No. 226 is probably to be read 788 in Tímúr's reign. No. 229 of the Ind. Mus. Cat., to judge from its date 919 A. H., may be a coin of Ismá'íl I, the first king of the Ṣafawí dynasty of Persia (905-932 A. H.).

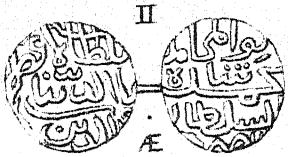


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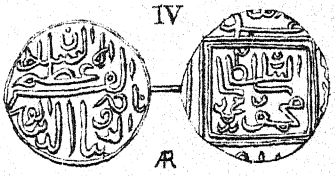
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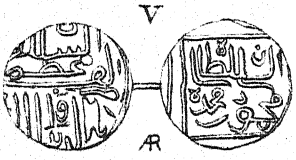
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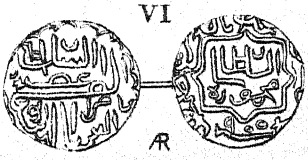
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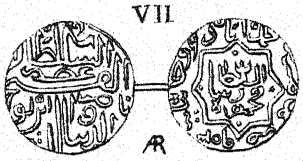
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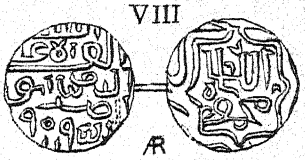
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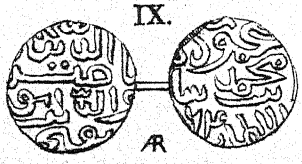
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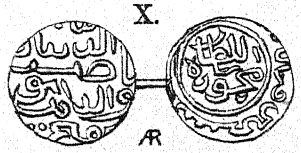
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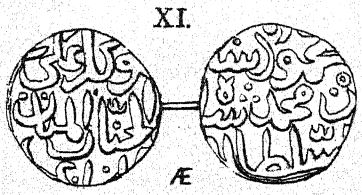
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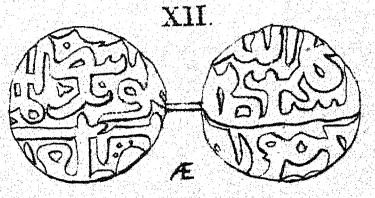
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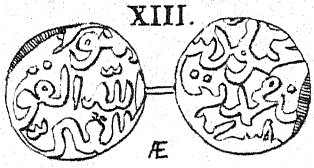
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COINS OF THE MUHAMMADAN KINGS OF GUZARÁT.

LITHOGRAPHED BY A. L. PAIN, CALCUTTA, JANUARY, 1889.

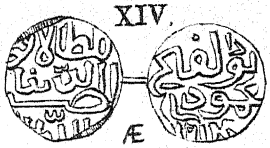


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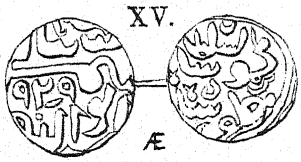
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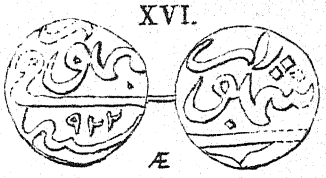
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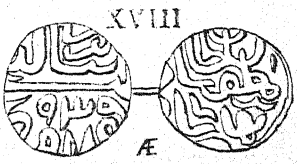
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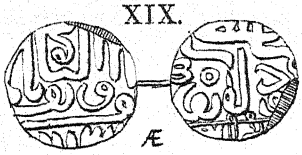
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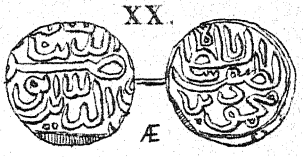
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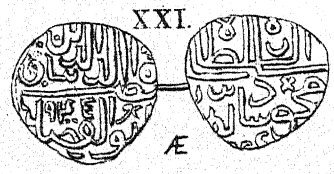
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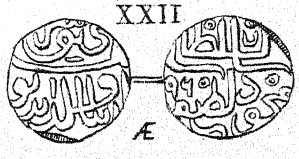
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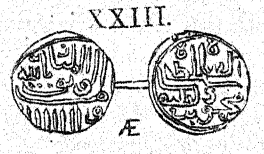
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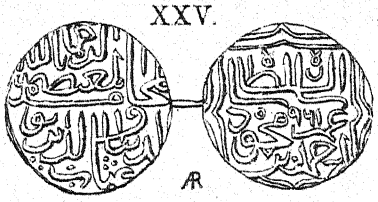


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LITHOGRAPHED BY A. L. FAIN, CALCUTTA, JANUARY, 1889.

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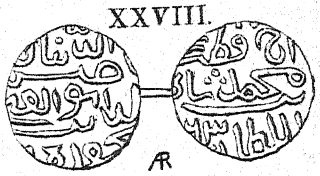
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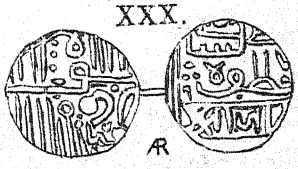
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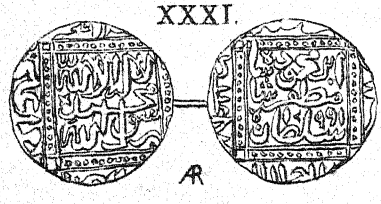
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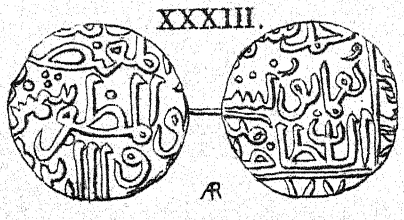
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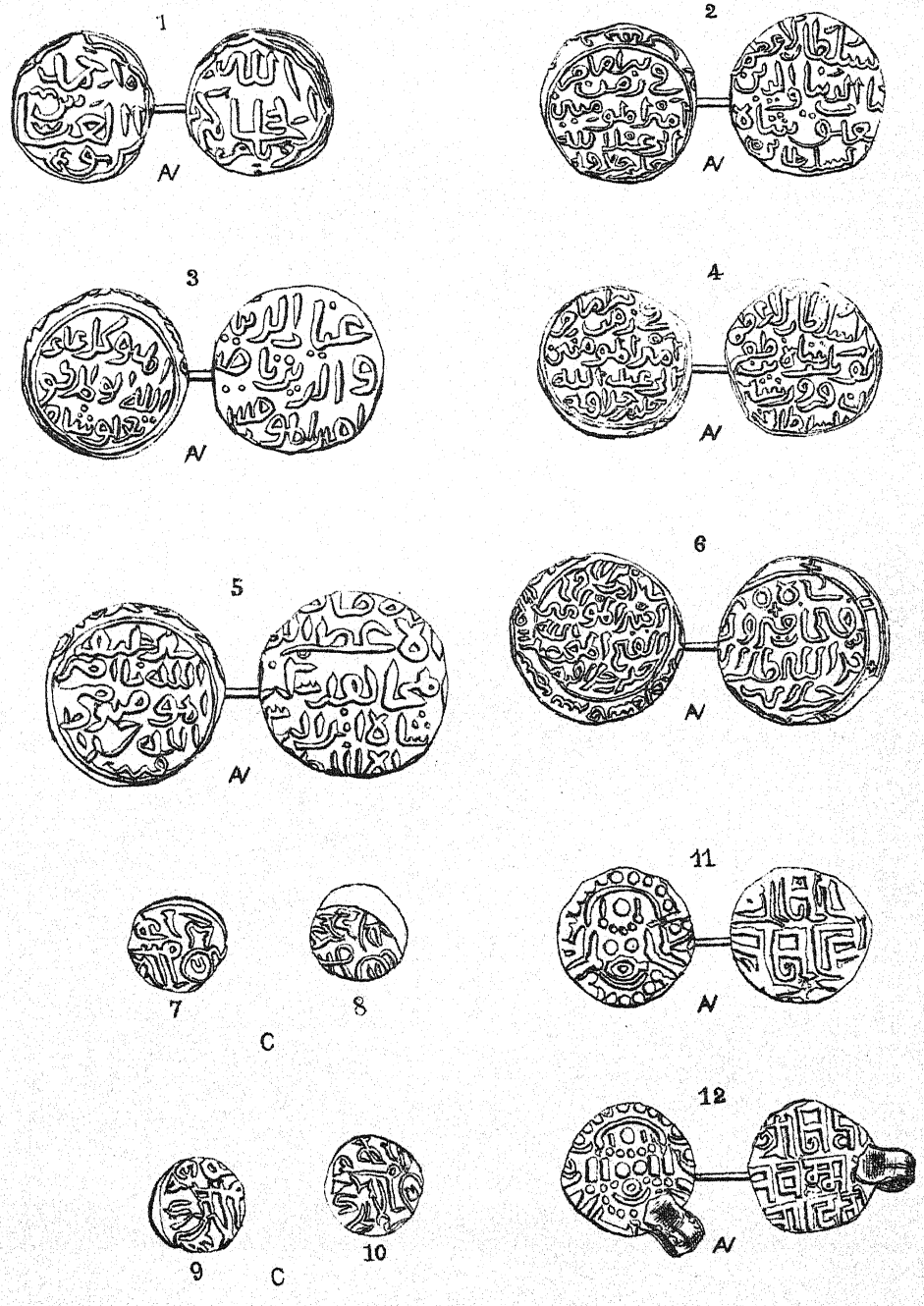
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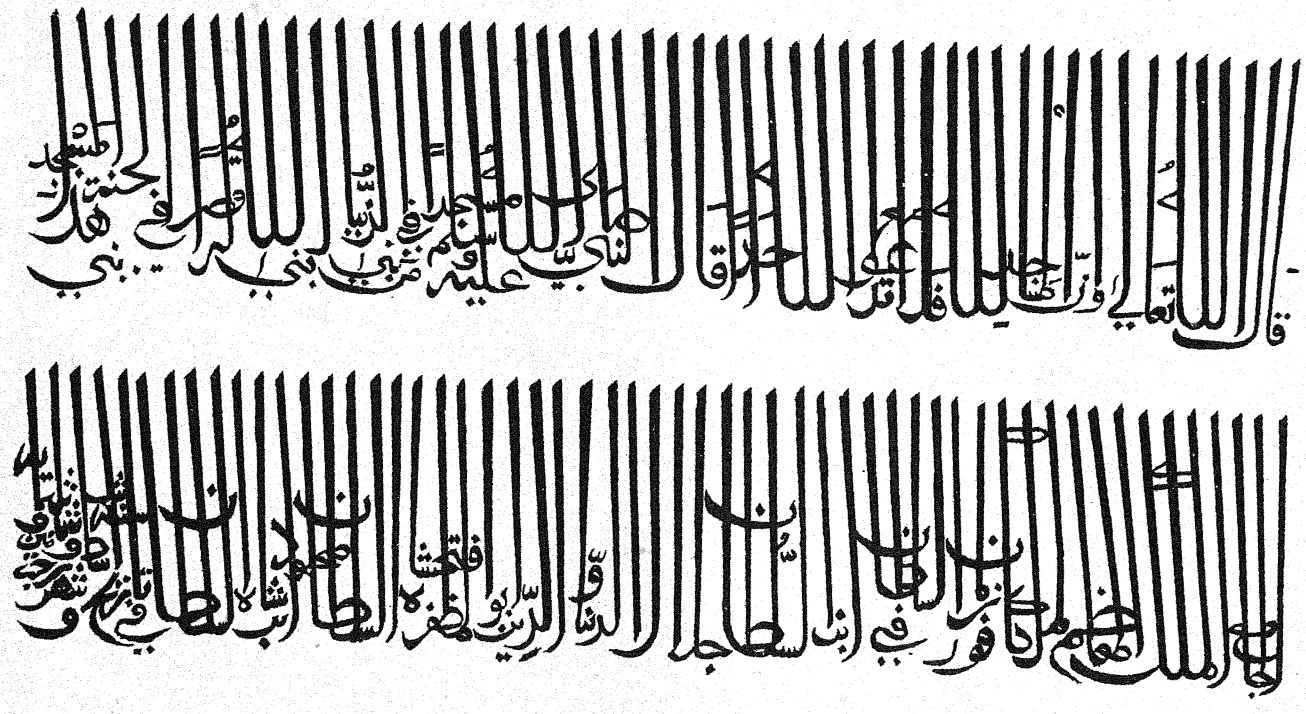
COINS OF THE MUHAMMADAN KINGS OF GUZARÁT.

LITHOGRAPHED BY A. L. PAIN, CALCUTTA. JANUARY, 1889.



SOME NEW OR RARE HINDU AND MUHAMMADAN COINS.

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INSCRIPTION OF JALÁLU-D-DÍN FATḤ SHÁH. DATED 888 A. H.,
IN THE MOSQUE OF ÁDAM SHAHÍD, NEAR RÁMPÁL.

LITHOGRAPHED BY A. L. PAIN, CALCUTTA, 1889.



COPPER-SILVER SEAL OF KUMÁRA GUPTA.

Full size.

Photo-Collotype, Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, August 1889.



Photo-etching. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, June 1890.

PALLAS ATHÉNÉ, LAHORE MUSEUM.

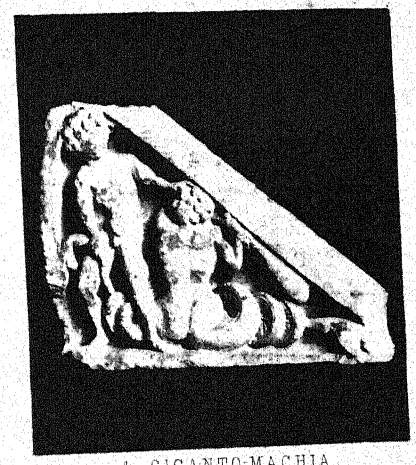


Photo-etching. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, June 1890.

THRONED KING, LAHORE MUSEUM.



1. BIRTH OF BUDDHA.



4. GIGANTO-MACHIA.



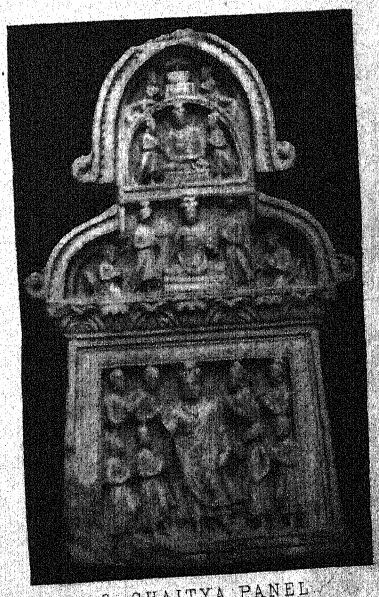
5A. GRECIAN HEAD.



5B. INDIAN HEAD.



2. SEATED BUDDHA.



3. CHAITYA PANEL.

GANDHARA SCULPTURES

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, September 1889.

Photo-etching.



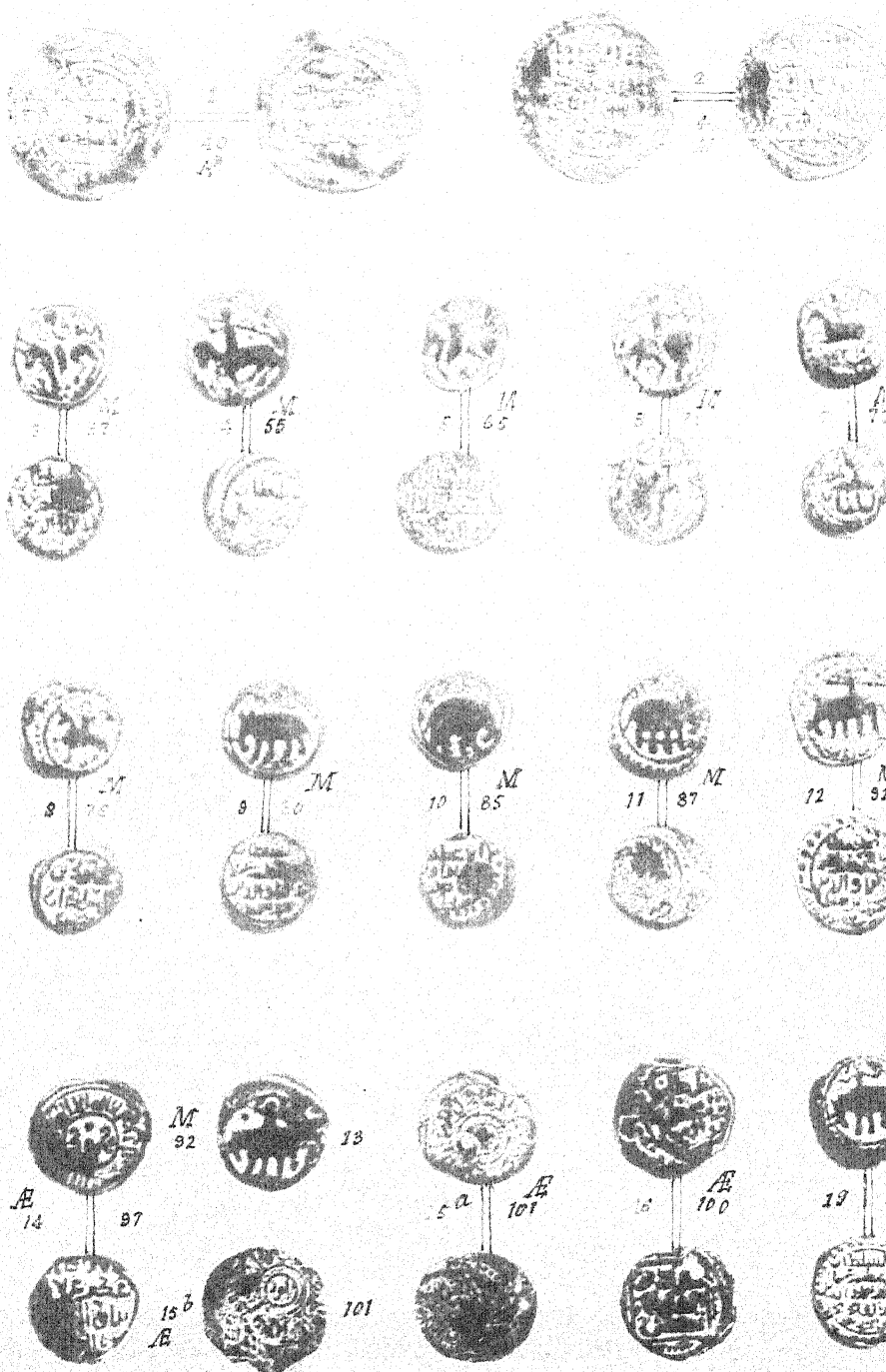


Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, June 1890.

Photo-etching

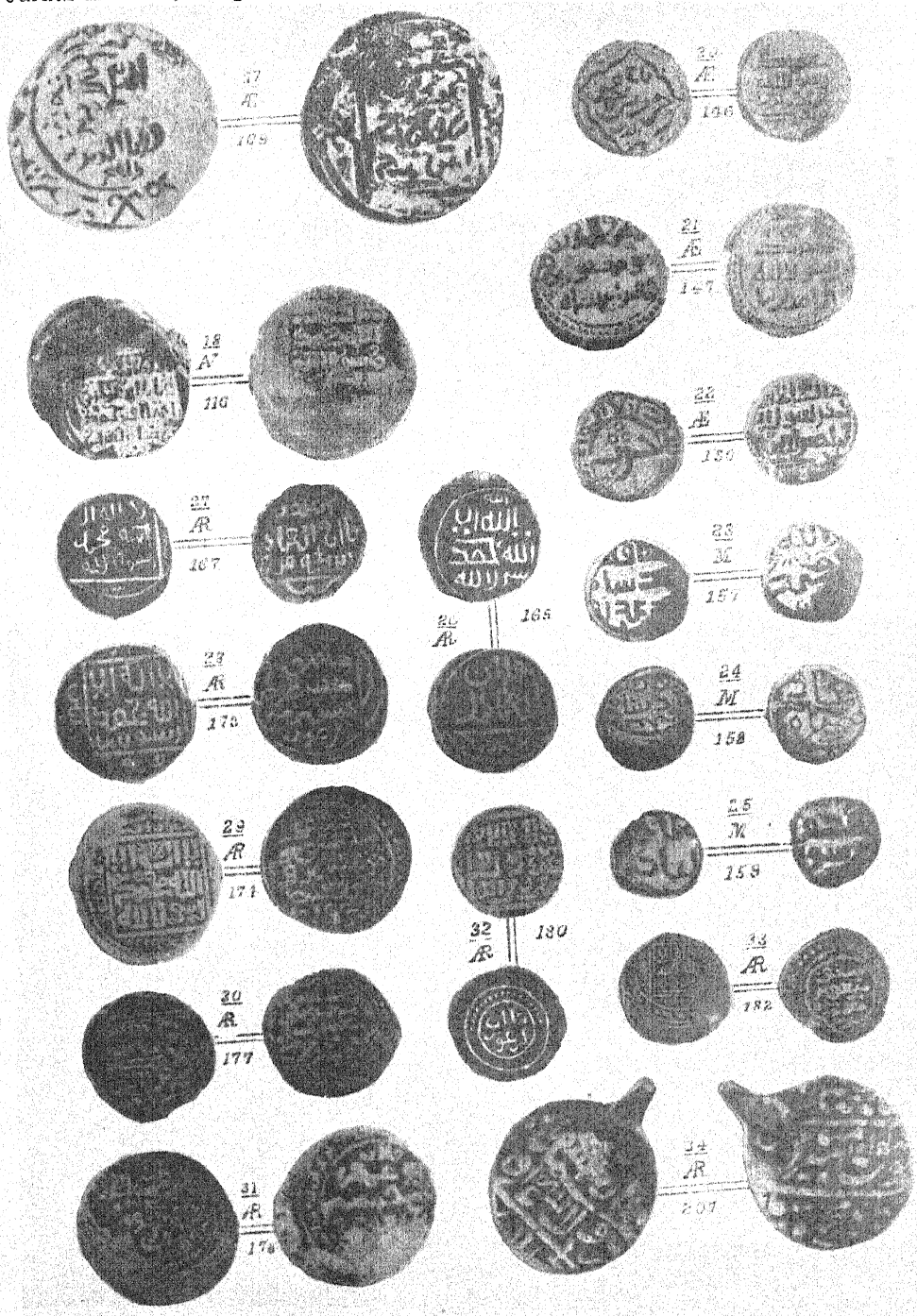
INSCRIBED PEDESTAL, HASHTNAGAR.





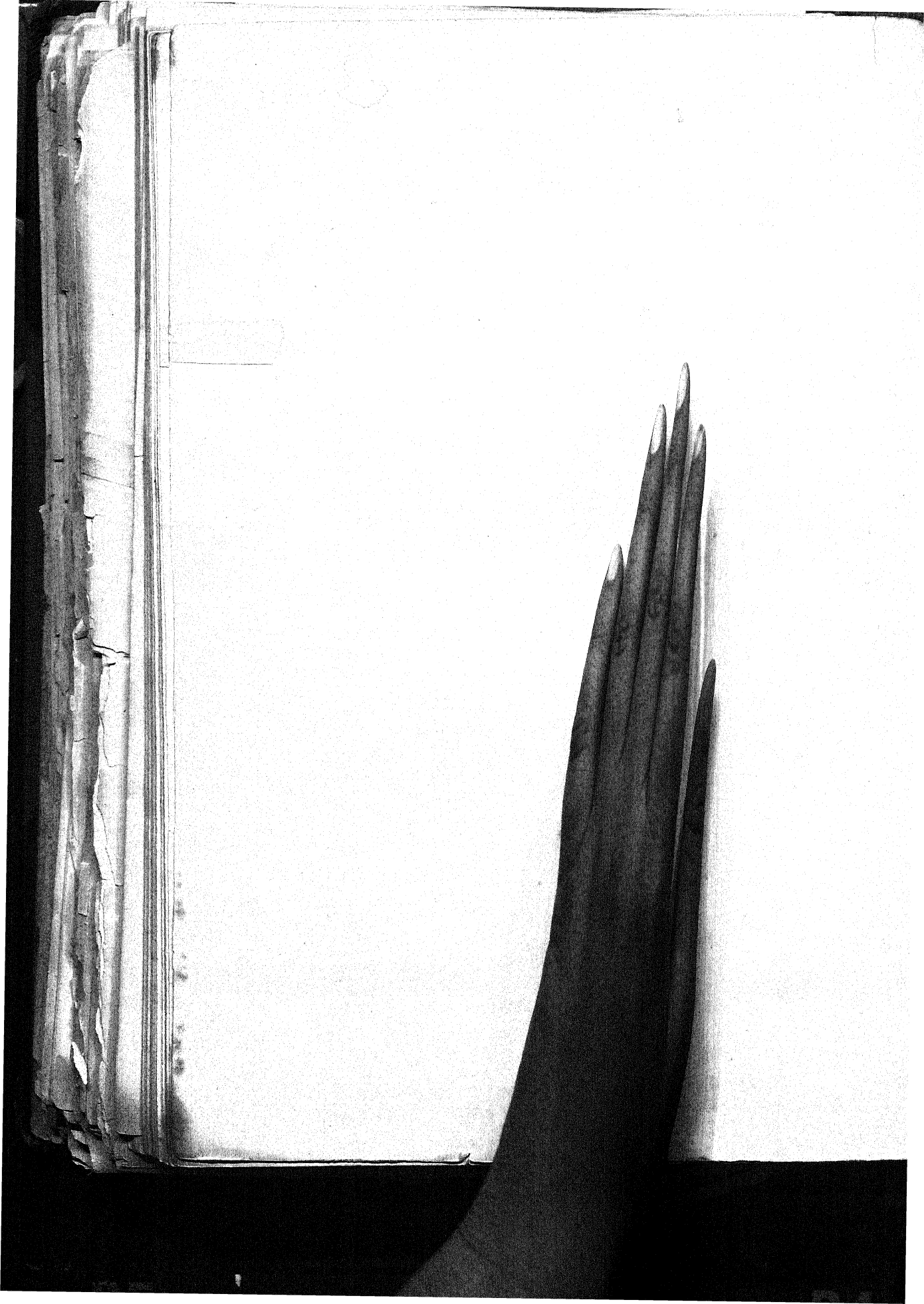
Central Asiatic Coins in the Indian Museum.

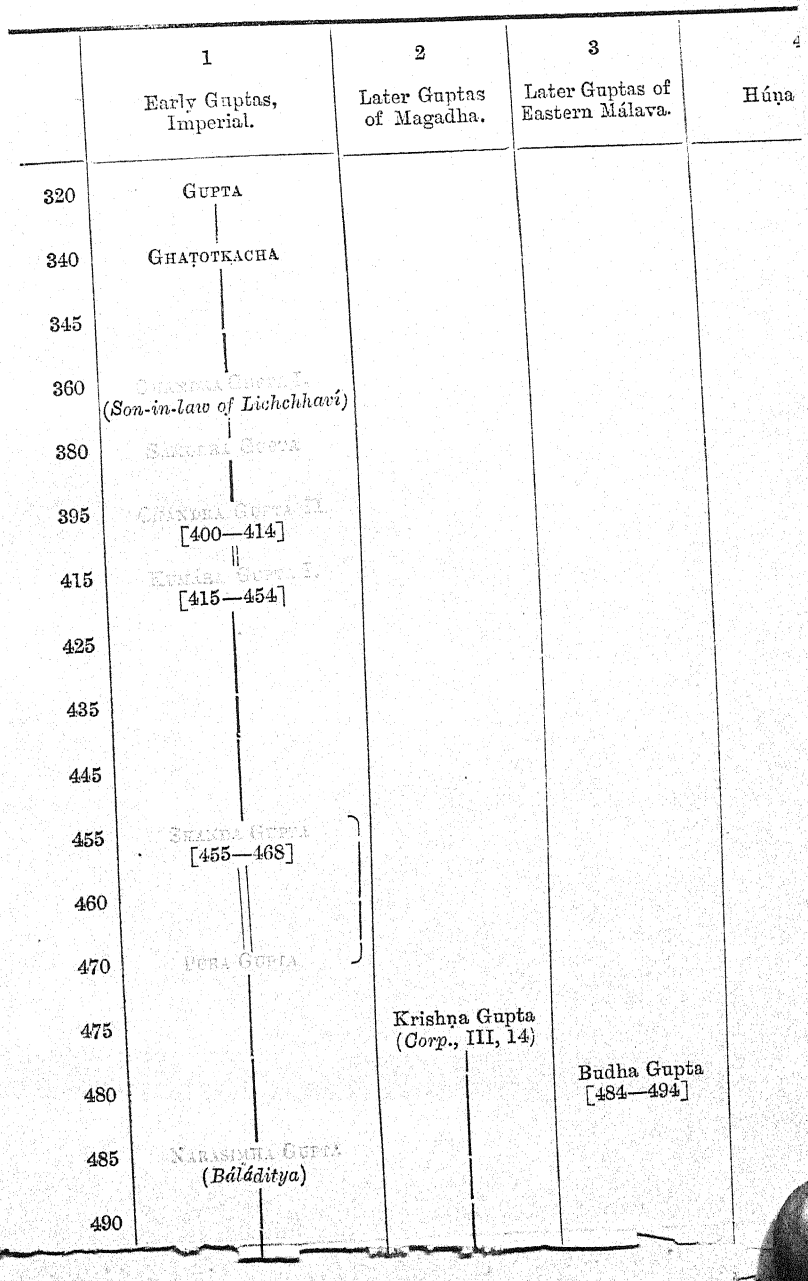
COLLOTYPE.—HEBERLET BROS.



Central Asiatic Coins in the Indian Museum.

COLLOTYPE.—HEBERLET BROS.




1
Early Guptas, Imperial.
2
Later Guptas of Magadha.
3
Later Guptas of Eastern Málava.
4
Húṇa
320
340
345
360
380
395
415
425
435
445
455
460
470
475
480
485
490
Gupta
Ghaṭotkacha
(Son-in-law of Lichchhavi)
[400—414]
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Krishṇa Gupta
(Corp., III, 14)
Budha Gupta
[484—494]
(Bálāditya)

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